

279 c 38
Plast

THE
JUST LIMITATION OF SLAVERY
IN THE
LAWS OF GOD,

COMPARED WITH

The unbounded Claims of the AFRICAN
TRADERS and BRITISH AMERICAN
SLAVEHOLDERS.

By GRANVILLE SHARP.

With a copious APPENDIX:

CONTAINING,

An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Thompson's Tract in
favour of the *African Slave Trade*.—Letters con-
cerning the lineal Descent of the Negroes from the
Sons of HAM.—The Spanish Regulations for the
gradual Enfranchisement of Slaves.—A Proposal
on the same Principles for the gradual Enfran-
chisement of Slaves in *America*.—Reports of De-
terminations in the several COURTS OF LAW
AGAINST SLAVERY, &c.

---Take away your Exactions from my People, SAITH
THE LORD GOD! Ezekiel xlv. 9.

L O N D O N :

Printed for B. WHITE, in Fleet-Street, and E. and C.
DILLY, in the Poultry.

M. D C C. L X X V I.



THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

CO-OP SWAP

BY THE CO-OP

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

CO-OP SWAP

BY THE CO-OP

THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
1873

CO-OP SWAP

BY THE CO-OP

30 several editiōes, a figure for a time
 and a year, and the like design.
T R A C T I.
 seem to yield basis for filling
 the place, position & circumstances
 of a person from out the mind, and
 of his studies, and of the like.

Just Limitation of Slavery.

THE opinion of the lords Hardwick
 and Talbot, which I laboured to
 refute in my *Tract against Slavery in En-
 gland* (1), (printed in 1769,) has since
 been effectually set aside by a clear deter-
 mination, in the Court of King's-Bench
 (2), in favour of *James Somersett, a Ne-
 gro*, against his former Master, *C*****
 S******, esq. in the year 1772.

(1) *A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous
 Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England.*

(2) See Appendix.

But it is not enough, that the Laws of England exclude *Slavery* merely from this *island*, whilst the grand Enemy of mankind triumphs in a toleration, throughout our *Colonies*, of the most monstrous *Oppression* to which human nature can be subjected!

And yet this abominable wickedness has not wanted advocates, who, in a variety of late publications, have attempted to palliate the guilt, and have even ventured to appeal to *Scripture* for the support of their uncharitable pretensions: so that I am laid under a double obligation to answer them, because it is not the cause of *Liberty* alone for which I now contend, but for that which I have still much more at heart, the honour of the holy *Scriptures*, the principles of which are entirely opposite to the selfish and uncharitable

uncharitable pretensions of our American Slaveholders and African Traders.

A late anonymous writer, who calls himself "*An African Merchant*," remarks, that,—"By the Law of Moses, "the Israelites might purchase Slaves "from the Heathens, and even their "own people might become Slaves to "their brethren." *A Treatise on the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa, &c.* by an African Merchant. P. 8 and 9.

Now, with respect to the first part of his observation, it is true, indeed, that the Israelites were expressly permitted to keep Bond-Servants, or Slaves, "of the "Heathen, (or, more properly, of the "Nations הָגּוּם) that were round about" them, and of "the children of the strangers that sojourned among" them. (Levit. xxv. 44 to 46.) But we must remember, that these *Heathen*, or "Na-

"tions that were round about them," were
 an abandoned race of people, already
 Slaves and worshippers of devils, and by
 them led to debase *human nature*, and
 to pollute themselves with the most un-
 natural and abominable vices: "For in
 "all these," (said the Almighty,) "the
 "nations are defiled which I cast out
 "before you: and the Land is defiled;
 "THEREFORE I do visit the iniquity
 "thereof upon it, and the land itself vo-
 "miteth out her inhabitants," &c. Again:
 "For all these abominations have
 "the men of the land done which
 "were before you, and the land is defi-
 "led," &c. See Levit. xviii. And the
 "children of the strangers," abovement-
 tioned, were (probably) also of the same
 detestable nations of Palestine, the Amo-
 rites, Canaanites, &c. which were ex-
 pressly doomed to destruction (3), and
 that

(3) "Observe thou that which I command thee
 "this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amo-
 "rite,

that by the hand of the Israelites, *who were commanded to shew them no pity* (4).

But no doctrine must be drawn from these commands to execute God's vengeance upon the said wicked *strangers*, without considering, at the same time, *that very contrary treatment of strangers* which was *equally enjoined* in the Law: for the Israelites were positively commanded not to vex or oppress a *Stranger*. “ *Thou shalt*

“ *rite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee,*” &c. Exod. xxxiv. 11 and 12.

(4) “ *And thou shalt consume all the people which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee: thine eye shall have no pity upon them,*” &c. Deut. vii. 16. “ *The Lord thy God will put out those nations by little and little,*” &c. “ *The Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction until they be destroyed. And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee until thou have destroyed them,*” Deut. vii. 23 and 24.

" *shalt love him as thyself*," said Moses,
 by the express command of God. " If a
 " Stranger sojourn with thee in your
 " land, ye *shall not vex*" (or *oppress*)
 " him. But the *Stranger* that dwelleth
 " with you shall be unto you as one born
 " among you, and *thou shalt love him as*
 " *thyself*: for ye were *Strangers* in the
 " land of Egypt." Levit. xix. 33. 34.
 And again: " The Lord your God is
 " God of gods and Lord of lords, a great
 " God, a mighty and a terrible, which
 " regardeth not persons nor taketh reward:
 " he doth execute the judgement of the
 " fatherless and widow, and *loveth the*
 " *Stranger*, in giving him food and rai-
 " ment. *Love ye*, therefore, *the Stran-*
 " *ger*; for ye were *Strangers* in the land
 " of Egypt." Deut. x. 17 to 19. In all
 these passages, and many others, the Is-
 raelites were reminded of their *Bondage*
 in *Egypt*: for so the almighty *Deli-*
 verer from *Slavery* warned his people
 to

to limit and moderate the *bondage*, which the Law permitted, by the remembrance of their own former *bondage* in a foreign land, and by a remembrance also of his great mercy in *delivering them* from that *bondage*: and he expressly referred them to their own *feelings*, as they themselves had experienced the intolerable yoke of Egyptian Tyranny! “Thou shalt not “oppress a Stranger; for ye know the “heart of a stranger, seeing ye were “strangers in the land of Egypt.” Exod. xxiii. 9. And again: “Thou shalt “remember that thou wast a *Bond-man* “in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy “God redeemed thee:” Deut. xv. 15.

We must, therefore, necessarily conclude, when these very opposite commands are considered, that the *Heathen*, or *nations* that were “ROUND ABOUT,” or in the *environs* of the promised land, and also the *children of the strangers*, that dwelt

dwell among them, mentioned at the same time, whom the Israelites were permitted to retain *in perpetual bondage*, were not intended to be included and ranked under that general denomination of *Strangers*, to whom so much real *affection*, *benevolence*, and *consideration*, are strictly commanded, in the texts to which I have just now referred. And, consequently, it must be allowed, that the particular nations, (the seven nations of Palestine, see Deut. vii. 1.) which were expressly devoted to destruction, were the only *Strangers* whom the Jews were permitted to hold in *absolute Slavery*; so that the wicked practice of *enslaving* the poor *African Negroes* would have been as *unlawful*, under the Jewish Dispensation, as it certainly is, now a-days, to Englishmen, and other subjects of Great-Britain, that profess the *Christian Religion*; *in whose consideration*, **ALL STRANGERS**, from every other

other part of the world, are, without doubt, entitled to be ranked, esteemed, and beloved, *as brethren*, which I have elsewhere particularly demonstrated; and which even the law of Moses expressly commanded: — “ *But the stranger, that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and THOU SHALT LOVE HIM AS THYSELF; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.* ” Levit. xix. 33 and 34.

This excellent system of benevolence to *strangers*, which the Israelites were so strictly enjoined to observe, cannot, I apprehend, be otherwise reconciled with the permission to the Israelites of retaining in perpetual bondage *the heathen that were round about them*, and the children of the *strangers* that sojourned among them: for, if this permission were to be extended to *strangers in general*, it would

subvert the express command concerning brotherly love due to strangers; because a man cannot be said to *love the stranger as himself* if he holds *the stranger and his progeny* in a perpetual *involuntary servitude*. The observation therefore of the African Merchant, that “THE ISRAELITES might purchase Slaves from the heathens,” will by no means justify the *enslaving of modern heathens*, by *Englishmen*, or by any other nation now subsisting. The Israelites, at that time, might not only purchase Slaves of those particular heathen nations, but they might also *drive out these heathen*; (I mean, these which were particularly named;) nay, even *kill* (5) and *extirpate* them, and *take possession of their cities, houses, and lands*. All these acts of violence *might* the Israelites do *without sin*, though the like would justly be esteemed

murder.

(5) “ But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.” Deut. xx. 16.

murder and robbery, if practised by any other nation, not under the like peculiar circumstances: so that the example of the Israelites affords no excuse for the uncharitable practices of the *African Merchant* and *West-India Planter*! The Israelites had an express commission (6) to execute God's vengeance, *without remorse* (7), upon several populous nations, which had rendered themselves *abominable in the sight of*

(6) " Now, therefore, kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him." Numbers xxi. 17. This was the judgement against the Midianitish prisoners. The seven nations of Palestine were likewise subjected to the same condemnation. " Thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them: thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them." Deut. vii. 2. And a reason for this condemnation was plainly delivered in the fourth verse, to confirm the justice of it: " For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods."

The Amalekites were also doomed to destruction in the like manner: "Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it. Deut. xxv. 19.

(7) " And thou shalt consume all the people which
" the Lord thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye
" shall have no pity upon them. Deut. vii. 16.

God, and therefore deserved no consideration ; so that *even mercy*, in the Israelites, was a sin (8), when it interfered with this positive command of God !

The commission there given, however, was but *temporary* ; and no other nation, except

(8) "But, if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass, that those, which ye let remain of them, shall be pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell. Moreover, it shall come to pass, that *I shall do unto you as I thought to do unto them.*" Numb. xxxiii. 55 and 56. And the Israelites were expressly told, that it was not on their own account that this extraordinary authority was put into their hands, but on account of the *abominable wickedness* of those who possessed the promised land.—"The land is defiled ; therefore I do visit the *iniquity* thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants." Levit. xviii. 25.

"For all these abominations" (unnatural lusts, mentioned in the former part of the same chapter) "have the men of the land done which were before you ; and the land is defiled." Levit. xviii. 27. And the Israelites were warned against presumption, lest such extraordinary authority should occasion spiritual pride. "Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess the land, but for the *wickedness* of those nations the Lord God doth drive them out from before thee," &c. Deut. ix. 5.

except God's peculiar people, was charged with the execution of it; and therefore, though the Europeans have taken upon themselves, for a long time past, *to attack, destroy, drive out, dispossess, and enslave*, the poor ignorant *Heathen*, in many distant parts of the world, and may, perhaps, plead custom and prescription (to their shame be it said) for their actions, yet, as they cannot, like the Israelites, produce an *authentic written commandment from God* for such proceedings, the offenders can no otherwise be esteemed than as *lawless robbers and oppressors*, who have reason to expect *a severe retribution* from God for their tyranny and oppression. It is unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that the severe treatment of the *ancient Heathen*, by the Israelites, under the *dispensation of the Law*, either in *killing, dispossessing, or enslaving*, them, should justify our *modern acts of violence*

violence and oppression, now that we profess obedience to the *Gospel of Peace*.

And, with respect to the second part of the African Merchant's observation, concerning the Israelites, (*viz.* that even "their own people might become Slaves "to their brethren,") I must remark, that he does not deal fairly by the Jewish Law, to quote that circumstance, without mentioning, at the same time, "the *Just Limitation*" to which it was subject, and the admirable provision, in the same Law, against the *involuntary servitude of brethren*; because no Hebrew could be made a Slave without his own consent, and even desire, which was to be "plainly" and openly declared in a court of record:—"if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free, then" (says the text) "his master shall bring him unto the Judges," &c. (whereby

an

an acknowledgement in a court of record is plainly implied,) " and his master
 " shall bore his ear through with an awl;
 " and he shall serve him for ever." Exod.
 xxi. 5. 6. But, without that public acknowledgement of voluntary consent before the Judges, the Hebrew master had no authority to bore the servant's ear (9) in token of bondage: and, in every other case, it was absolutely unlawful for the Israelite to hold a *Brother Israelite in Slavery!* The Law expressly declares, " If
 " thy *Brother*, (that dwelleth) by thee, be
 " waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou
 " shalt not compel him to serve as a bond
 " servant: (but) as an hired servant;
 " and

(9) Yet our inconsiderate West-Indian and American Planters make no scruple even of branding their poor Negro-servants with a hot iron, to mark them for perpetual Bondmen, against their will, though they are certainly their Brethren in the eyes of God. But God hath declared, expressly, concerning the crimes of these men, *who enslave the poor*, — — — " SURELY, I will never forget any of their works! Shall not the land tremble for this!" &c.! &c.! &c.! Amos, viii. 7. 8. See also the whole context, from the 4th verse.

" and as a *sojourner* he shall be with
 " thee ; (and) shall serve thee unto the
 " year of jubilee : and (then) shall he
 " depart from thee, (both) he and his chil-
 " dren with him ;" &c. (and the reason
 of this command immediately follows ;)
 " for they are *my servants*," (said the
 Lord,) " which I brought forth out of
 " the land of Egypt :" (i. e. *which God*
himself delivered from Slavery :) " they
 " shall not be sold as *Bond-men* : thou shalt
 " not rule over him with rigour, but
 " shalt fear thy *God*." Levit. xxv. 39
 to 43. And again, in the 55th verse,
 " For unto me" (said the Lord) " the
 " children of *Israel* are *servants* ; they are
 " *my servants*, whom I brought out of
 " the land of Egypt : *I am the Lord*
 " *your God*."

Thus it appears that the *involuntary*
servitude of *bretbren* is entirely inconsis-
 tent with the Jewish Law ; which, there-
 fore,

fore, is so far from *justifying* the *African Merchant*, that it absolutely *condemns* him. But he is still more mistaken, when he insinuates that Slavery is not inconsistent with the Gospel. “ Jesus Christ, the “ Saviour of mankind and Founder of “ our religion,” (says he,) “ left the “ moral laws and civil rights of mankind “ upon their old foundations: his king- “ dom was not of this world, nor did he “ interfere with national laws: *he did* “ *not repeal that of slaves*, nor assert an “ universal freedom, except from sin: “ with him bond and free were accepted, “ if they behaved *righteously*.” &c. p. 9.

But how can a man be said to “ behave “ *righteously*,” who sells his *brethren*, or holds them in Slavery *against their will*? For, though, with Christ, “ *bond and free* “ *are accepted*,” yet it behoves the *African Merchant* very diligently to examine, whether he is not likely to forfeit his *own*

D *acceptance*,

acceptance, if he does not most heartily repent of having *enslaved his brethren*, and of having encouraged others to the same *uncharitable practices*, by misinterpreting the holy Scriptures.

Under the Gospel Dispensation, *all mankind* are to be esteemed *our brethren*. Christ commanded his disciples to go and teach (or make disciples of) *all nations*, “*παντα τα εθνη*.” Matth. xxviii. 19. So that *men of all nations* (who, indeed, were *brethren* before, by *natural* descent from *one common father*) are now, undoubtedly, capable of being doubly related to us, by a *farther tie of brotherhood*, which the law of Moses seemed to deny them, and of which the peculiar people of God (jealous of their own adoption) once thought them incapable; I mean, the inestimable privilege of becoming sons, also, to *one almighty Father*, by *adoption*, as well as the *Jews*, and, consequently, of being

being *our brethren*, through Christ, by a spiritual, as well as a *natural*, relationship.

The promises of God, likewise, in every other part of the New Testament, are made to *all mankind in general*, without exception; so that a Negro, as well as any other man, is capable of becoming “*an adopted son of God*”; an “*heir of God through Christ*” (10); a “*temple of the Holy-Ghost*” (11); “*an heir* (12) of

D 2 “*salva-*

(10)—“that we might receive the *adoption of Sons*.” (said the apostle, to the Galatians:) “And, because “*ye are Sons*, God hath sent forth the spirit of *his Son* “*into your hearts*, crying *Abba, Father*: wherefore “*thou art no more a servant, but a Son*; and, if a Son, “*then AN HEIR OF GOD THROUGH CHRIST*.” Galat. iv. 5. and 7.

(11) “Know ye not that ye are the Temple of “God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? “If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God “destroy; for the *Temple of God is holy*, which *Temple ye are.*” 1 Corinth. iii. 16. 17. See also chap. vi. 19. 20.

(12) “That the Gentiles should be *fellow-heirs*, “and of the same body, and partakers of his promise “in Christ by the *Gospel*.” Ephes. iii. 6.

“ *salvation*;” a partaker of the divine nature (13); “ a joint-heir with Christ (14); and capable, also, of being joined to that glorious company of Saints, who shall one day “ *come with him to judge the world*;” for “ *the Saints shall judge the world*.”

1 Cor. vi. 2. 3. — And, therefore, how can any man, who calls himself a Christian, presume to retain, as a mere chattel, or *private property*, his fellow man and *brother*, who is equally capable with himself of attaining the high dignities abovementioned! Let Slaveholders be mindful of the approaching consummation of all earthly things, when, perhaps, they will see thousands of those men, who were formerly esteemed mere *chattels*.

(13) — “ through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and *virtue*: whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the *divine nature*.” &c. 2 Pet. i. 3 and 4.

(14) “ If children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ;” &c. Rom. viii. 17.

tels and *private property*, coming (15) in the clouds (16), with their heavenly Master, to judge tyrants and oppressors, and to call them to account for their want of *brotherly love* !

The Ethiopians, or Negroes, received the Christian faith *much sooner* than the Europeans themselves: their *early* conversion was foretold by the Psalmist:

(Psalm

(15) — “ at the *coming* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST
“ *with all his Saints.*” 1 Thess. iii. 13.

— “ And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh, with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgement upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds,” &c. Jude, xiv. 15.

(16) — “ and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.” Matt. xxiv. 30.

“ Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him: and they also which pierced him:” Rev. i. 7. And those men, also, who have worn out their brethren in slavery, may surely be ranked with the wretches that pierced their Lord. “ — in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren,” (said our Lord,) “ ye have done it unto me.” Matt. xxv. 40. (See the conclusion of my Tract on the Law of Liberty.)

(Psalm lxviii. 31.) "Princes shall come
"out of Egypt," (or from *Mizraim*);
"and Ethiopia" (17) (or *Cush*) "shall
soon stretch out her hands unto God."
And, accordingly, we find the *Ethiopian*
Eunuch (18) particularly mentioned in
Scripture among the first converts to
Christianity:

(17) Wherever we find mention made, in the Old Testament, of *Ethiopians*, (though a general name for Negroes,) yet we shall find them expressed, in the Hebrew, by the name of the eldest branch of Ham, *viz.* *Chus*, כָּרֶת. However, we must remember, that all *Ethiopians* are not *Cushites*. The prodigious army, of a million of *Ethiopians*, which was overthrown by Asa, were not all descendants of *Chus*, though mentioned under the general name of כּוֹשִׁים *Chusim*, in 2 Chron. chap. xiv. for we read, in the 16th chap. 8th verse, that part of that vast body were *Lubims*. "Were not "the *Ethiopians* and *Lubims*" (חָכְשִׁים וְחַלּוּבִים) "a huge host?" said the prophet Hanani, when he reminded Asa of his former success. The *Lubims*, or *Libyans*, were a great nation, from whom the internal part of Africa receives its name of *Libya*, and were descended from *Mizraim*, the second son of Ham, who was also the father of the *Egyptians*.

(18) Who might justly be esteemed a *Prince* of that country, being Δυνάτης, a *Lorā*, or one "of great authority under Candace, Queen of the *Ethiopians*, who had the charge of all her Treasure," &c.

Christianity: and that extraordinary exertion of the HOLY SPIRIT, in favour of the eunuch, was, perhaps, the foundation of the ancient Church of Habassinia (19), which, notwithstanding all worldly disadvantages, remains in some degree of *purity* to this day, as a lasting monument of *Christianity among the sons of Ham*, even in the most remote and inaccessible part of Africa!(20)

Certain

(19) The learned Lutholf was of a different opinion, and supposed that the Habassinians were not converted till the time of Constantine the Great, about the year 330; and, though it is not clear whether this latter period was the time of their first conversion or not, yet, certain it is, that, ever since that time, they have maintained the Christian faith, and the sacramental institutions of Christ, without yielding to the adulterations of the church of Rome, though the same were pressed upon them with all the authority that one of their own Emperors could exert! Lutholf has given a full and clear account (printed in 1691) of these Christian Negroes and their church, which seems to be reserved, by the providence of God, as a *Witness* of the purity of his holy Religion: a *Witness* not less remarkable than the church of the Vaudois!

(20) They still retain Water-Baptism and the holy Communion *in both kinds*, and drove out the Portuguese Jesuits

“ Certain it is, (say the learned Assembly
 “ of Divines,) that Ethiopia, according
 “ to this unquestionable prophecy,”
 (Psalms, lxviii. 31.) “ was one of the
 “ first kingdoms that was converted to
 “ the Christian faith; the occasion and
 “ means whereof we read of Acts viii.
 “ 27, 28.” &c.

The progress of the truth must have been very rapid in Africa, because we read of a council of African and Numidian Bishops, held at Carthage, so early as the year of Christ 215 (21); (though our Anglo-Saxon ancestors remained in the grossest pagan darkness near 400 years afterwards;) and, in the year 240, a council of 99 Bishops was assembled at Lambesa,

Jesuits for attempting, by force, to pervert and corrupt these primitive rites.

(21) “ *Carthaginense 1. circa annum ccxv. sub A-
 “ grippino, episcopo Carthaginensi, ab Africæ et Nu-
 “ midia episcopis, de rebaptizandis hæreticis habitum.*”
 Dr. Cave’s Hist. Literaria, p. 99.

Lambesa, an *inland city of Africa*, on the confines of Biledulgerid, against Privatus Bishop of Lambesa on a charge of Heresie. (22) The fourth Council of Carthage in the year 253 was held by 66 Bishops, concerning the Baptism of Infants. (23) And in the eighth Council at that place (anno 256) besides (24) Priests, Deacons and Laymen, there were present 87 Bishops. In another council of Carthage, about the year 308, no less than 270 Bishops of the Sect of the Donatists (25) were present; and in the year 394, at Baga, an inland City of Africa, 310 (26) Bishops were collected together, though the

E same

(22) Dr. Cave's Hist. Literaria, p. 99. (23) Ibid.

(24) " *Presentes erant preter Presbyteros, Diaconos maximamque plebis partem, Episcopi lxxxvii, &c.* See Dr. Cave's Hist. Literaria, p. 100. also Bohun's Geog. Dict. p. 219, under the word *Lambesa*.

(25) Dr. Cave's Hist. Lit. p. 222. (26) Ibid. p. 234.

same was long before the conversion of the English and Dutch, the great traders in *African slaves*; and though the Africans have, since, lamentably fallen back into gross ignorance, yet we must not, on that account, look upon them in the same light that the Jews did upon “*the children of the strangers*,” whom they were permitted to hold in slavery (Levit. xxv. 45.) because we cannot do so without becoming *strangers* ourselves to *Christianity*; and hastening *our own apostacy*, which seems already too near at hand. (27) We may lament

(27) The alarming increase of infidelity, and the open declarations of Deists, Arians, Socinians, and others, who deny the Divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, are lamentable proofs of the growing apostacy! The African Church fell away by degrees in the same manner, till it was totally lost in the most barbarous ignorance, (except in Habessinia) for even those Africans who are free from idolatry, and profess to worship *the true God*, are, nevertheless, ensnared and enslaved

ment the fallen state of our unhappy brethren, but we have *no commission under*

enslaved in the gross errors of *Mahometanism*, to which a neglect of the necessary Faith in the *Divinity of Christ*, and of the *Holy Ghost*, has an apparent tendency ! We have likewise a remarkable instance of *infidelity*, or at least of a total neglect of *Scripture authority* and *revelation*, in the attempt of two late writers to prove that *Negroes* are “ *an inferior species of men* :” but the learned Dr. *Beattie*, in his *Essay on Truth*, has fully refuted the insinuations of Mr. *Hume*, the first broacher of that uncharitable doctrine, as well as Aristotle’s futile attempt to justify *slavery* ; so that Mr. *Eftwick*’s subsequent attempt, which was prompted only by the authority of Mr. *Hume*, needs no further confutation. “ That I may not be thought a blind admirer of anti-“ quity, (says Dr. *Beattie*) I would here crave the read-“ er’s indulgence for one short digression more, in order “ to put him in mind of an important error in morals, “ inferred from partial and inaccurate experience, by “ no less a person than Aristotle himself. He ar-“ gues, ‘ That men of little genius, and great bodily “ strength, are by nature destined to serve, and those of “ better capacity to command ; and that the natives of “ Greece, and of some other countries, being natu-“ rally superior in genius, have a natural right to em-“ pire ;

*under the Gospel to punish them for it,
as the Israelites had to punish the
Heathens*

“ pire; and that the rest of mankind, being *naturally stupid*, are destined to *labour and slavery*,’ (De Republ. lib. 1. cap. 5, 6.) This reasoning is now, alas! of little advantage to Aristotle’s countrymen, who have for many ages been doomed to that slavery, which, in his judgment, nature had destined them to impose on others; and many nations whom he would have consigned to everlasting stupidity, have shown themselves equal in genius to the most exalted of human kind. It would have been more worthy of Aristotle, to have inferred man’s natural and universal right to liberty, from that natural and universal passion with which men desire it. He wanted, perhaps, to *devise some excuse for servitude*; a practice which, to their eternal reproach, both Greeks and Romans tolerated even in the days of their glory.

“ Mr. Hume argues nearly in the same manner in regard to the superiority of white men over black. ‘ I am apt to suspect,’ says he, ‘ the negroes, and in general all the other species of men, (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious

Heathens that were condemned in the law ! Our endeavour should be rather to

“ ingenious manufactures among them, *no arts, no sciences*.—There are negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which *none* ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity” (Hume’s *Essay on National Characters*.)—These assertions are strong ; but I know not whether they have any thing else to recommend them. For, first, though true, they would *not prove the point in question*, except it were also proved, that the Africans and Americans, even though arts and sciences were introduced among them, would still remain unsusceptible of cultivation. The inhabitants of Great Britain and France were as savage two thousand years ago, as those of Africa and America are at this day. To civilize a nation, is a work which it requires long time to accomplish. And one may as well say of an infant, that he *can never become a man*, as of a nation now barbarous, that it *never can be civilized*. Secondly, of the facts here asserted, no man could have sufficient evidence, except from a personal acquaintance with all the negroes that now are, or ever were, on the face of the earth. Those people write no histories ; and all the reports of all the travellers that ever visited them, will not amount to any thing like a proof of what is here affirmed. **BUT, THIRD-**

“ LY,

to restore the *Heathens* to their lost
privileges, than to harden them in
their

“ **L**Y, WE KNOW THAT THESE ASSERTIONS ARE NOT
“ TRUE. The empires of Peru and Mexico could not
“ have been governed, nor the metropolis of the latter
“ built after so singular a manner, in the middle of a
“ lake, *without men eminent both for action and speculation*. Every body has heard of the magnificence,
“ good government, and ingenuity, of the ancient Pe-
“ ruvians. *The Africans and Americans are known to*
“ *have many ingenious manufactures and arts among them*,
“ *which even Europeans would find it no easy matter*
“ *to imitate*. Sciences indeed they have none, because
“ they have no letters ; but in oratory, some of them,
“ particularly the Indians of the Five Nations, are said
“ to be greatly our superiors. It will be readily allow-
“ ed, that the condition of a slave is not favourable to
“ genius of any kind ; and yet, *the negro-slaves disper-*
“ *sed over Europe, have often discovered symptoms of inge-*
“ *nuity, notwithstanding their unhappy circumstances*.
“ They become excellent handicraftsmen, and practical
“ musicians, and indeed learn every thing their masters
“ are at pains to teach them, perfidy and debauchery
“ not excepted. That a negro slave, who can neither
“ read nor write, nor speak any European language,
“ who is not permitted to do any thing but what his
“ master

their prejudices by tolerating amongst us a greater degree of *despotism* and *oppression*

“ master commands, and who has not a single friend “ on earth, but is universally considered and treated as “ if he were of a species inferior to the human ;—that “ such a creature should so distinguish himself among “ Europeans, as to be talked of through the world for “ a man of genius, is surely no reasonable expectation. “ To suppose him of an inferior species, because he does “ not thus distinguish himself, is just as rational, as to “ suppose any private European of an inferior species, “ because he has not raised himself to the condition of “ royalty.

“ Had the Europeans been destitute of the arts of “ writing, and working in iron, they might have remained to this day as barbarous as the natives of “ Africa and America. Nor is the invention of these “ arts to be ascribed to our superior capacity. The genius of the inventor is not always to be estimated according to the importance of the invention. Gun-“ powder, and the mariner’s compass, have produced “ wonderful revolutions in human affairs, and yet were “ accidental discoveries. Such, probably, were the “ first essays in writing, and working in iron. Suppose “ them the effects of contrivance ; they were at least “ contrived by a few individuals ; and if they required

“ a su-

pression than was ever permitted among
the Jews, or even among the ancient
Heathens !

“ a superiority of understanding, or of species in the in-
“ ventors, those inventors, and their descendants, are
“ the only persons who can lay claim to the honour of
“ that superiority.

“ That every practice and sentiment is barbarous
“ which is not according to the usages of modern Eu-
“ rope, seems to be a fundamental maxim with many
“ of our critics and philosophers. Their remarks often
“ put us in mind of the fable of the man and the lion.
“ If negroes and Indians were disposed to recriminate ;
“ if a Lucian or a Voltaire from the coast of Guinea,
“ or from the Five Nations, were to pay us a visit ;
“ what a picture of European manners might he present
“ to his countrymen at his return ! Nor would carica-
“ tura, or exaggeration, be necessary to render it hi-
“ deous. A plain historical account of some of our most
“ fashionable duellists, gamblers, and adulterers, (to name
“ no more) would exhibit specimens of brutal barbarity
“ and sottish infatuation, such as might vie with any
“ that ever appeared in Kamtschatka, California, or the
“ land of Hottentots.

“ It is easy to see with what views some modern au-
“ thors throw out these hints to prove the natural inferiori-
“ ty of negroes. But let every friend to humanity pray,
“ that

Heathens! for in one of our own anti-christian colonies, even the *murder* of a negro slave, when under *private punishment*, *is tolerated* (see the 329th act of Barbadoes); and by the same diabolical act of assembly a man may “*of wantonness, or of bloody mindedness, or cruel intention*” (it is expressly said) “*wilfully kill a negro, or other slave of his own;*” without any other penalty for it than a trifling fine of

“*that they may be disappointed.* Britons are famous for “generosity; a virtue in which it is easy for them to “excel both the Romans and the Greeks. *Let it never be said, that slavery is countenanced by the bravest and most generous people on earth; by a people who are animated with that heroic passion, the love of liberty, beyond all nations ancient or modern; and the fame of whose toilsome, but unwearied, perseverance, in vindicating, at the expence of life and fortune, the sacred rights of mankind, will strike terror into the hearts of sycophants and tyrants, and excite the admiration and gratitude of all good men, to the latest posterity.*” *Essay on Truth, P. 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463 and 464.*

£15 sterling. (See remarks on this act in my tract against slavery in England, (28) p. 66 and 67.) Many instances of West-India cruelty have fallen even within my own knowledge, and I have certain proofs of no less than three married women being violently torn away from their lawful husbands, (29) even in London, by the order of their pretended proprietors ! Another remarkable instance of tyranny, which came

(28) A representation of the injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery in England. London, 1769.

(29) Nothing can be more presumptuously contrary to the laws of God, than these unnatural outrages ! “ Have ye not read” (said Christ himself) “ that he which made (them) at the beginning, made them male and female ? and said, for this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife : and they twain shall be *one flesh*. Wherefore they are *no more twain, but one flesh*. What, therefore, GOD HATH JOINED TOGETHER LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER.” Matth. xix. 4, 5 and 6.

came within my own knowledge, was the advertizing a reward (in the Gazetteer of the 1st June, 1772) for apprehending “*an East-India black boy about 14 years of age, named Bob or Pompey* :” he was further distinguished in the advertizement by having “*round his neck a brass collar, with a direction upon it to a house in Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury-square.*” Thus the *black Indian Pompey* was manifestly treated with as little ceremony as a *black name-sake of the dog kind* could be. I inquired after the author of this unlawful and shameful advertizement ; and found, that he was a merchant even in the heart of the city of London, who shall be nameless ; for I do not want to expose *individuals*, but only their *crimes*. Now if masters are capable of such monstrous OPPRESSION, even here in *England*, where their brutality renders them

them liable to severe penalties, how can we reasonably reject the accounts of **TYRANNY in America**, howsoever horrid and inhuman, where the abominable plantation laws will permit a capricious or passionate master, with impunity, to deprive his wretched slave even of life.

I am frequently told, nevertheless, by interested persons from the West-Indies, how well the slaves are used; and that they are much happier than *our own poor at home*. But though I am willing to believe that *some few* worthy West-Indians treat their slaves with humanity, yet it is, certainly, far from being *the general case*; and the misery of *our own poor* will not be any excuse for *the oppression of the poor elsewhere*! When any of *our own countrymen at home* are miserably *poor*, it is not always clear whether *themselves, or others, are to be*

be blamed : all we can know for certain is, that it is the indispensable duty of *every man* to *relieve them* according to his ability ; and that the neglecting an opportunity of doing so, is as great an offence before God as if we had denied assistance to *Christ himself* in the same wretched condition ; for so it is expressly laid down in Scripture, (30)

through

(30) " Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand,—Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world ; For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat : I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink : I was a *stranger*, and ye took me in : naked, and ye clothed me : I was sick, and ye visited me : I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed (*thee*) ? or thirsty, and gave (*thee*) drink ? When saw we thee a *stranger*, and took (*thee*) in, or naked, and clothed (*thee*) ? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee ? And the king shall answer, and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done (*it*) unto one of the least of these my brethren,

through the mercy of God towards *the poor* : but it is obvious to whom the misery of *a slave* is to be attributed : for *the guilty possessor* will certainly be answerable to God for it ; and every man, who endeavours to palliate and screen such *oppression*, is undoubtedly *a partaker of the guilt*. The *slave-holder* deceives himself if he thinks he can really be a **CHRISTIAN, and yet bold**

“ *thren, ye have done (it) unto me ! Then shall he say*
 “ *also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye*
 “ *cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and*
 “ *his angels : For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no*
 “ *meat ; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink : I was*
 “ *a stranger, and ye took me not in : naked, and ye*
 “ *clothed me not : sick, and in prison, and ye visited*
 “ *me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying,*
 “ *Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or a thirst, or a*
 “ *stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not*
 “ *minister unto thee ? Then shall he answer them, say-*
 “ *ing, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did (it) not*
 “ *to one of the least of these, ye did (it) not to me. And*
 “ *these shall go away into everlasting punishment : but the*
 “ *righteous into life eternal.” Matth. xxv. 34—46.*

bold such property. Can he be said to *love his neighbour as himself?* (31) Does he behave to others as he would they should to him? “Ye have heard “that it hath been said, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you* (said our “Lord himself) *love your enemies, &c.* “That ye may be the children of your “Father which is in Heaven: for he “maketh his sun to rise *on the evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;*” (Matth. v. 44, 45) so that *Heathens* are by no means excluded from the benevolence of *Christians.*

Thus Christ has enlarged the antient Jewish doctrine of *loving our neighbours*
as

(31) I have examined this point more at large in a tract on “*The Law of Liberty,*” which is intended also for publication.

as ourselves ; and has also taught us, by the parable of the good Samaritan, that *all mankind*, even our *professed enemies* (such as were the Samaritans to the Jews) must necessarily be esteemed *our neighbours* whenever they stand in need of our charitable assistance ; so that the *same benevolence* which was due from the *Jew to his brethren of the house of Israel* is indispensably due, *under the Gospel*, to *OUR BRETHREN OF THE UNIVERSE*, howsoever opposite in religious or political opinions ; for this is the apparent intention of the parable.

No nation therefore whatever, can now be lawfully excluded as *strangers*, according to that uncharitable sense of the word *stranger*, in which the Jews were apt to distinguish all other nations from themselves ; and, since *all men* are now to be esteemed “ *brethren and neighbours* ”

“neighbours” under the Gospel, none of the Levitical laws relating to the bondage of *strangers* are in the least applicable to justify slavery *among Christians*; though the same laws bind *Christians* as well as *Jews* with respect to all the lessons of *benevolence* to *strangers*, which are every where interspersed therein; because these are *moral doctrines* which never change, for they perfectly correspond with “*the everlasting Gospel.*” (Rev. xiv. 6.) As for instance, “Thou shalt not oppress a *Stranger*, for ye know the heart of a *Stranger*, seeing ye were *strangers* in the land of Egypt.” Exod. xxiii. 9. This is an appeal to the *feelings* and experience of the *Jews* who had themselves endured a *heavy bondage*, so that it clearly corresponds with the “*royal law*” or “*law of liberty*” in the Gospel.

G

“Thou

“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”

Gal. v. 14. or as our Lord himself has more fully expressed it. “*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS.*” Matth. vii. 12.

Again, “*If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex or (oppress him) (but) the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou SHALT LOVE HIM*” (viz. *the stranger*) *AS THYSELF; for ye were STRANGERS in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God.*” (Levit. xix. 33.) Let every slaveholder consider the importance of this command and the unchangeable dignity of him who gave it. “**I AM THE LORD YOUR GOD**”!--for the

“ the **LORD** YOUR **GOD** is **God** of **Gods**,
“ and **Lord** of **Lords**, a **great** **God**, a **migh-**
“ **ty**, and a **terrible**, which regardeth not
“ **persons**” (not the Masters more than
any slaves) “ nor taketh reward. He doth
“ execute the judgment of the fatherless
“ and widow, and **LOVETH THE STRAN-**
“ **GER**, in giving him food and raiment.

“ **LOVE YE** *therefore the stranger* : for ye
“ were *strangers* in the land of Egypt.”

Deut. x. 17, 18, 19. And how can a man be said to *love* the *stranger*, and much less to *love him as himself* (see the express command above) who presumes to vex and oppress him with a perpetual involuntary bondage ? Is this obedience to that great rule of the **Gospel**, which Christ has given us as the *sum of the law and the prophets* ? Would the American slaveholders relish that contemptuous and cruel usage with which they oppress their poor negroes ; and that

that the *African* (31) *strangers* should do even so to themselves without the least personal provocation or fault on their part,
 viz.

(31) The present deplorable state of the *African* *strangers* in general, ought to warn us of similar judgments against the inhabitants of these kingdoms! My own Grandfather near a century ago (wanting only three years, viz. in 1679) warned our great national counsel of God's vengeance by this very example,

“ *That AFRICA* (says he) which is not now more “ fruitful of monsters, than it was once of excellent- “ ly wise and learned men; that *AFRICA* which for- “ merly afforded us our Clemens, our Origen, our Ter- “ tullian, our Cyprian, our Augustine, and many other “ extraordinary lights in the church of God; that FA- “ MOUS *AFRICA*, in whose soil Christianity did thrive “ so prodigiously, and could boast of so many flourishing “ churches, alas is now a wilderness. The wild boars “ have broken into the vineyard and eaten it up, and it “ brings forth nothing but briars and thorns: to use the “ words of the prophet. And who knows but God may “ suddenly make THIS CHURCH AND NATION, THIS OUR “ ENGLAND, which, *Jeshurun* like, is waxed fat and “ grown proud, and has kicked against God, such “ ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE VENGEANCE OF THIS “ KIND? ”—See arch bp. Sharp's Sermons second vol. 1st Serm. which was preached before the house of Commons, April 11. 1679. (Page 22)

viz. to be branded with a hot iron, in order to be known and ranked as the cattle and private property of their oppressors? Like the cattle also to be ignominously compelled by the whip of a driver to labour hard "*without wages*" or recompence? If the African merchants and American slaveholders can demonstrate that they would not think themselves injured by such treatment from others, they may perhaps be free from the horrid guilt of *unchristian oppression* and *uncharitableness*, which must otherwise inevitably be imputed to them, because their actions will not bear the test of that excellent rule of the Gospel abovementioned, which Christ has laid down as the measure of our actions—" *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets.*" Math vii. 12. I must therefore

fore once more repeat, what I have before advanced, that the permission formerly granted to the Jews of holding *heathens and strangers* in slavery is virtually repealed, or rather superseded by the Gospel, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of the African merchant, that Christ “*did not repeal that of slaves*”

The *African merchant* has also republished the letters of his fellow advocate *Mercator*, who professes in the same manner to draw his authority “*from Sacred history*”—“ To the sedate, “ to the reasonable, to the Christian readers (says he) I shall more fully set forth “ the *lawfulness of the slave trade* from the “ express allowance of it in Holy writ :” (ibid appendix : B. iv.) but the very first insinuation concerning the origin of slavery which follows this specious address to the sedate &c. is founded on two *false assertions*

even

even in ONE sentence, and therefore I can-
 not esteem him worthy of any further
 notice than that of pointing out these
 proofs of his little regard to truth ; “ As
 “ to its origin (says he) it may possibly be
 “ derived from that sentence expressed
 “ against Canaan (*from whom the Africans,*
 “ *says he, are descended*) by his father No-
 “ *ah* at the hour of his death. (32) Cursed
 “ be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be
 “ to his brethren.” But though the author
 afterwards allows that “ both the origin
 “ of slavery and the colour of the Africans
 “ are incapable of *positive proof*,” yet the
 futility of his insinuation concerning the
descent

(32) It was not “ *at the hour of his death*,” but “ *when he awoke from his wine* ” after he had tasted too freely the fruits of the vineyard, which he planted when he began to be a husbandman ; the time therefore was probably very soon after the flood, and not *at the hour of his death*, as misrepresented by Mercator, for he lived after the flood 350 years, Genesis ix. 28.

descent of the *Africans* is not like the other two circumstances “ incapable of “ positive proof.” For the *Africans* are not descended from *Canaan*, if we except the Carthaginians (a colony from the sea coast of the *land of Canaan* who were a free people, and at one time rivalled, even the Roman common wealth, in power. The *Africans* are principally descended from the three other sons of *Ham*, viz. *Cush*, *Misraim*, and *Pbut*; and to prove this more at large I have subjoined to this tract a letter which I received (in answer to mine on the same subject) from a learned gentleman who has most carefully studied the antiquities of the line of *Ham*: the insinuation therefore concerning the “sentence expressed “against *Canaan*” can by no means justify the *African slave trade*, so that *Mercator* seems indeed to write like a mere trader, for the sake of his iniquitous *Traffic*,

more

more than for the sake of *truth*, notwithstanding his professions of regard for the Holy Scriptures.

If we carefully examine the Scriptures we shall find, that slavery and oppression were ever abominable in the sight of God; for though the Jews were permitted by the law of Moses (on account of the *hardness of their hearts*) to keep slaves, as I have remarked in my answer to the *Reverend Mr. Thompson* on this subject (which is subjoined,) yet there was no inherent right of service to be implied from this permission, because whenever the slave could escape he was esteemed *free*; and it was *absolutely unlawful* for any man (who believed the word of God) to deliver him *up again to his master* (see Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.) whereas in our colonies, (which in acts of OPPRESSION

H may

may too justly be esteemed *antichristian*)
 the slave who *runs away* is “ *deemed*
 “ *rebellious*,” and a reward of £ 50 is
 offered to those who **SHALL KILL** or
 “ *bring in alive any rebellious slave*” (see
 the 66th act of the laws of Jamaica.) By
 an act of Virginia (4 Ann, ch. 49 § 37
 P. 227.) after proclamation is issued
 against slaves that “ *run away and lie*
 “ *out*” it is “ **LAWFUL** for *any person*
 “ *whatsoever to KILL and DESTROY*
 “ **SUCH SLAVES** *by such ways and means*
 “ *as he, she, or they SHALL THINK*
 “ *FIT, without accusation or impeach-*
 “ *ment of any crime for the same*,” &c.
 See the remarks on these, and such
 other *diabolical acts* of plantation assem-
 blies in pages 63 to 73, of my re-
 presentation of the injustice and dan-
 gerous tendency of tolerating slavery in
 England. Printed in 1769.

By another act of Virginia, (12
 Geo.

Geo. 1. chap. 4, § 8. P 368.) if a poor fellow is taken up as a runaway and committed to prison, the goaler may let him out to hire, in order to pay the fees, even though he is not claimed, “*and his master or owner* (says the act) “*cannot be known* ;” and in a following clause the goaler is ordered to “*cause a* “*strong IRON COLLAR TO BE PUT ON* “*THE NECK of such negroe or runaway,* “*with the letters (P. G.) stamped thereon;*” a most abominable affront to human nature ! our spiritual enemy must have had a notorious influence with the plantation law makers to procure an act so contradictory to the laws of God, (33) and

(33) Even white servants, *English, Scotch, and Irish* are frequently taken up by the *sheriff and goalers* without any warrant, or previous judgment whatever, merely “*on suspicion of being servants;*” and they are then *advertized to be delivered up to their ty- rannical*

and in particular to that (last cited) from Deutrenomy, viz. "Thou shalt
" not

rannical masters ; but though there is great injustice and oppression in taking up these poor people merely " on suspicion of *being servants*," yet it does not appear to be so flagrant a breach of God's command before-mentioned, as the delivering up the poor runaway *ne- groes*, who are foreigners, and strangers, and consequently less capable of obtaining redress when they are really injured : the white servants are generally understood to be bound to their masters only for a short limited time, either with their own consent by private contract, or as felons who are banished their mother country after a fair trial *by jury* (which excludes any suspicion of injustice) and are sold for a certain term to pay the expences of their passage, &c. whereby the right of service claimed from them by the master is more in the nature of a *pecuniary debt* than of absolute slavery, so that the white runaway servant may perhaps, *as a debtor*, be delivered up to his master without any direct breach of the law of God beforementioned ; provided there is no apprehension or probability of his being treated with cruelty on his return ; or that the master would be liable to exact more service than is due ; in which case the law ought to afford protection and redress ; but no pretences of this kind can justify the *delivering up* a *negroe stranger* ! The poor negroes are claimed for
life,

“ not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master
 “ unto

life, as an absolute property, though (to compare their case with white servants) they never offended any member of our community either at home or abroad to justify such a severe punishment under British Government; neither are they capable of entering into such a legal contract for service, as might justify a master's claim to it, being absolutely incapacitated by unlawful duress, to enter into any contract as long as they are detained by force or fear in the British dominions (for which injustice to strangers the British dominions must sooner or later receive a severe retribution) and therefore the delivering up to his master a negroe servant
 “ THAT HAS ESCAPED FROM HIS MASTER,” and has since regained his natural liberty, must necessarily be esteemed a shameful and notorious breach of God's law. Nevertheless our publick prints inform us even of an English man of war and another vessel being lately sent from Grenada to the Spanish main, “ to claim some slaves that had made their escape from the Islands,” (see Gazetteer June 30, 1773) the writer of the paragraph also expresses great disappointment on account of the issue of this unwarrantable and disgraceful embassy: “ instead of meeting with that justice and civility which (says he) they had a right to expect, the Governors at both places, we are told, treated them with
 “ the

“ unto thee ; He shall dwell with thee,
 “ among you. in that place which he
 “ shall choose” (that is manifestly as a
 free man) “ in one of thy gates *where*
 “ *it liketh him best* ; *thou shalt not oppress*
 “ *him*”. Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. This is
 clearly a *moral law*, which must be ever
 binding as the will of *God* ; because the
 benevolent *intention* of it is *apparent*,
 and must ever remain the same : for
 which

“ *the greatest haughtiness and contempt and refused to give*
 “ *them the smallest satisfaction* :” but alas the *very expectation* of better treatment (upon an errand so unlawful in itself, and so disgraceful to his Majesty’s naval service) is a proof of the most deplorable degeneracy and ignorance ! Even the cruel Spaniards are more civilized and shew more mercy to their slaves at present than the English, of which their new regulations for the abolishing of slavery afford ample proof, though the **RETRIBUTION** for their former Tyranny has lately fallen heavily on them according to the last accounts from *Chiloe* and *Chili*, which ought to be considered as merciful warnings to the rest of the world against tyranny and slavery !

which reason I conclude that AN ACTION OF TROVER *cannot lye for a slave* ; and that no man can lawfully be prosecuted for protecting a negroe, or any other slave whatever, that has “ *escaped from his master* ” because that would be punishing a man for doing *his indispensable duty* according to the laws of God : and if any law, custom or precedent should be alledged to the contrary it must necessarily be rejected as *null and void* ; because it is a maxim of the common law of England, that “ *the inferior law must give place to the superior, man's laws to God's laws* ”. (attorney general Noy's maxims P. 19) And the learned author of the *Doctor and Student* asserts, that even *Statute law* ought to be accounted *null and void*, if it is set forth *contrary to the laws of God*.

“ ETIAM SI ALIQUOD STATUTUM
“ ESSE EDITUM, CONTRA EOS NUL-
“ LIUS

“ LIUS VIGORIS *in legibus Angliae censem*
 “ *ri debet, &c*”--- chap, vi.

The degree of servitude, which the Israelites were permitted to exact of *their brethren*, was mild and equitable, when compared with the servitude which (to our confusion be it said) is common among Christians ? I have already quoted from Leviticus a specimen of the limitation to the servitude of BRETHREN ; but the Jews were not only restrained *from oppressing their BRETHREN*, but were also bound by the law to *assist them generously and bountifully* according to every man's ability, when they dismissed them from their service ; which is a duty too seldom practiced among Christians ! (see Deuteronomy xv. 12.) “ *If thy brother an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years ;*
 “ *then*

“ then in the SEVENTH YEAR thou
“ shalt let him GO FREE from thee. (34)
“ And when thou sendest him out FREE
“ from thee, thou shalt NOT LET HIM GO
“ AWAY EMPTY : Thou shalt furnish him
“ LIBERALLY out of thy flock, and out of
“ thy floor, and out of thy wine press :
“ (of that) wherewith the Lord thy God
“ hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him.
“ And thou shalt remember that THOU
“ WAST A BONDMAN in the land of E-
“ gypt, AND THE LORD THY GOD RE-
“ DEEMED THEE : THEREFORE I com-
“ mand thee this thing to day.” These are
the very utmost limits of servitude that
we might venture to exact of our bre-
thren even if we were Jews ! and how much
more are we bound to observe every thing
that is merciful in the law whilst we pro-
fess Christianity ? What then must we think
of ourselves if we compare these Jewish

I limitations

(34) See also Exodus xxi. 2.

limitations with our Plantation laws !

A bountiful recompence for the service is plainly enjoined, whereas the whole substance perhaps, of the most wealthy English or Scotch slaveholders would not suffice to pay what is due, in strict justice, to those who have laboured in his service, if the reward is to be proportioned to their sufferings : but it shall one day be required of them --

*" Your gold and silver
" is cankered ; and the rust of them shall be
" a witness against you, and shall EAT
" YOUR FLESH AS IT WERE FIRE : Ye
" have heaped treasure together for the
" last days. BEHOLD THE HIRE OF
" THE LABOURERS which have rea-
" ped down your fields, which is of you
" kept back by fraud, CRIETH : and THE
" CRIES of them WHICH HAVE REAPED
" are entered into the ears of the Lord
" of Sabaoth" (or of ARMIES) James. v.*

3 and 4.

The

The *slaveholder* perhaps will say, that this text is not applicable to him, since he cannot be said to have “*kept back by “fraud” the hire of his labourers*, because he never made any agreement with them for *wages*, having bought their *bodies* of the *slave dealer*, and thereby made them his *own private property*; so that he has *a right* (he will say) to *all their labour without wages*. But this is a vain excuse for his *oppression*, because it is not so much *the previous agreement* as the **LA-BOUR** which renders *wages due*: for “**THE LABOURER is worthy of his “HIRE”**” (Luke x. 7.) and the sin which “**CREIETH in the ears of the Lord of Sa-“baoth**” is the *using a poor man’s LABOUR “WITHOUT WAGES”*; so that whether there is an *agreement for wages*, or *no agreement*, yet, if **THE LABOUR is performed**, the *wages are due*; and those, who keep them back, may be said to *build their house in unrighteousness*: as the prophet

Jeremiah

Jeremiah has declared in the strongest terms (Jer. xxii. 13.) “*Wo unto him
“ that buildeth his house by unrighteous-
“ ness, and his chambers by wrong; (that)
“ USETH HIS NEIGHBOUR’S SERVICE
“ WITHOUT WAGES, AND GIVETH
“ HIM NOT FOR HIS WORK.*”

And the holy Job, even before the law, declared his detestation of UNREWARDED SERVICE. “*If my land (said he)
“ cry against me, or that the furrows like-
“ wise thereof complain: IF I HAVE EAT-
“ EN THE FRUITS THEREOF WITHOUT
“ MONEY, or have caused the owners there-
“ of to lose there life: (35) let thistles
“ grow*

(35) Which was too much the case in the late English acquisition of “*the fine cream part of the Island*” of St. Vincent’s.—See authentic papers relative to the expedition against the Charibbs. Page 24.

“ grow instead of wheat, and cockle in-
 “ stead of barley ! Job. xxxi. 38.—40

The wise son of Sirach has also added his testimony to the same doctrine
 “ *He that defraudeth the LABOURER of*
 “ *his hire is a bloodsheder.* Ecclesiasticus
 xxxiv. 22. The slaveholder will perhaps endeavour to evade these texts also, by alledging, that though, indeed, he
 “ *useth his neighbour's service WITHOUT*
 “ *WAGES,* yet he cannot be said to
 “ *give him nothing for his work,*” because he is at the expence of providing him with food and cloathing (36) and therefore this severe text is not applicable to him. But let such a one remember (if he calls himself a *Christian*) that *Christian* masters are absolutely bound to have some regard to *the interest* of their servants, as well as to their own *interest*.
 “ *Masters*

(36) Osnabrug trowsers, and sometimes also a Cap

“ *Masters, give unto your SERVANTS*
 “ *that which is JUST AND EQUAL, know-*
 “ *ing that YE ALSO have a MASTER in*
 “ *beaven.*” Collofs. iv. 1.

But *slaveholders* in general, have no idea of what is “ *JUST AND EQUAL*” to be given *to servants* according to the *Scriptures* !

It is not a mere support in food and necessaries, as a master feeds his horse or his ass to enable the creature to perform his labour: but as *man* is superior to *brutes*, a further reward is “ *just and equal*” to be given to the human *servant*. I have already sufficiently proved that *every man* under the *Gospel* is to be considered as our *neighbour AND brother*, and consequently, whatever was “ *just and equal*” “ to be given by a *Jew*, to his *neighbour*, or *Hebrew brother* under the *Old Testament*,

ment, the same must, necessarily, be considered as “*just and equal*,” and *absolutely due* from *Christians* to men of *all nations* without distinction, whom we are bound to treat as *bretbren* under the *Gospel* in whatever capacity they serve us. Let the American *slaveholder* therefore remember, that even according to the *Jewiſh law*, (if he argues upon it as a **CHRISTIAN** ought to do) he is absolutely indebted to each of his slaves for every days labour BEYOND the first six years OF HIS SERVITUDE. “*In the SEVENTH year* (said the Lord by Moses,) *thou shalt let him GO FREE from thee. And when thou sendest him out FREE from thee, thou SHALT NOT LET HIM GO AWAY EMPTY. Thou shalt furnish him LIBERALLY out of thy FLOCK, &c. wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him*” &c.

If

If this was the indispensable duty even of Jews! how much more is it "JUST AND EQUAL to be observed by Christians?" The same command, when applied to the *American planter*, will include a proper stock of plants for cultivation, as Sugar-Canes, Tobacco, Indigo, &c. as well as cattle and stores, to enable a poor man to maintain himself and family upon a small farm, or lot of spare ground, lett, for a certain limited time, on reasonable terms; and renewable on equitable conditions; which are the only true means of reducing the *price of labour*, and *provisions*. Let not the planter grudge to part with his servant when he has served a reasonable time in proportion to his *price*, (agreeable for, instance, to the regulations adopted by the *Spaniards* which I have already recommended to the *English* planters See Appendix 5.) for the word of God forbids any such base reluctance. "It shall not seem

"HARD

" SEEM HARD UNTO THEE *when thou*
 " *sendest him away free from thee*; for
 " *he hath been worth a double hired ser-*
 " *vant (to thee) in serving thee six years* :
 " *and the Lord thy God shall bless thee in*
 " *all that thou doest.*" Deut. xv. 18

The slaveholder perhaps will alledge that, though the Jews were bound to shew this benevolence to their *brethren of Israel*, yet the same laws do not bind the American planter, because his slaves are for the most part *heathens* or (as some of the negroes are) *Mahometans*, and therefore he is not bound to consider them as his *brethren*; being rather justified by the law, which permitted the Jews to keep *heathen slaves*, and " *the children of the strangers*," in perpetual bondage &c. They shall be your *bondmen for ever*--see Leviticus xxv. 44, 45, and 46.--But I have already guarded against

this objection, in the former part of this tract; and it must clearly appear, by the several points since mentioned, that *as Christians*, we must not presume to look upon any man whatever in the same light that the *Israelites* once did upon “*the children of the strangers*,” whether they be *black* or *white*, *Heathens* or *Mahometans*.

If a *Heathen*, or a *Mahometan*, happens to fall into our hands, shall we confirm his prejudices by *oppression*, instead of endeavouring to instruct him as a *brother*? Surely the blood of such a poor infidel must rest on the guilty head of that *nominal Christian*, who neglects the opportunity of adding to the number of *his brethren* in the Faith! And therefore, let that man, who endeavours to deprive others of their just privileges as *brethren*, take heed lest he should thereby unhappily occasion his *own rejection* in

in the end, when that dreadful doom,
 which the uncharitable must expect
 will certainly be pronounced!—For
 then “ *the KING*” (the King of King’s)
 “ *shall answer, and say unto them,—*
 “ *Verily I say unto you,—In as much as*
 “ *ye have done (it) unto one of the least*
 “ *of these MY BRETHREN,*” (for that
 glorious KING will esteem even the
 meanest SLAVES as HIS BRETHREN, if
 they believe in him,) “ *ye have done (it)*
 “ *unto ME ! DEPART FROM ME YE*
 “ *CURS D into everlasting Fire, pre-*
 “ *pared for the Devil and his Angels.*”
 “ *(Matt. xxv. 40, 41.) I know you not !*
 “ *(xxv. 12.)—I never knew you ;—De-*
 “ *part from me ye that work iniquity !*”
 (Matt. vii. 23.)

Soli Deo Gloria et Gratia.

F I N I S

APPENDIX

(N^o. I.)

An ESSAY on SLAVERY,

Proving from SCRIPTURE its Inconsistency
with HUMANITY and RELIGION;

By GRANVILLE SHARP.

“With an introductory PREFACE,” (by a Gentleman of the Law, in West Jersey) “containing the Sentiments of the Monthly Reviewers on a Tract, by the Rev. T. Thompson, in Favour of the Slave Trade.”

*The Lord also will be a Refuge for the Oppressed—
a Refuge in Time of Trouble, Psalm. ix. 9.*

BURLINGTON: WEST JERSEY,
Printed, M.DCC.LXXIII.

London: reprinted, 1776.

21. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.

1. 1. 1900.





Preface by the American Editor.

THE following Essay, though wrote,
as the Author signifies, in haste,
is thought to have such merit as
to deserve a publication.—The copy was
sent to one of the Writer's particular
friends, whether for his own peculiar sa-
tisfaction, or the press, is uncertain; but
as the subject is *Liberty*, so it is expected
the *Freedom* which is here taken, cannot
justly give him offence, or be unaccepta-
ble to the public.'

It was designed to confute a piece wrote
by Thomas Thompson, M. A. some time
fellow of C. C. C. entitled, "The Afri-
can trade for Negro Slaves shewn to be
consistent with principles of humanity,
and with the laws of revealed religion."
Printed at Canterbury.'

In order to shew that the Essay Writer
has not misrepresented the text, nor is
single in his observations upon it, the sen-
timents of the Monthly Reviewers on that
pamphlet in May, 1772, are here insert-
ed.'

"We must acknowledge," say they, "that
the branch of trade here under considera-

4 APPENDIX, No. 1.

“tion, is a species of traffic which we have
“never been able to reconcile with the dic-
“tates of humanity, and much less with
“those of religion. The principal argu-
“ment in its behalf seems to be, the *neces-
“sity* of such a resource, in order to carry
“on the works in our plantations, which,
“we are told, it is otherwise impossible to
“perform. But this, though the urgency
“of the case may be very great, is not by
“any means sufficient to justify the prac-
“tice. There is a farther consideration
“which has a plausible appearance, and
“may be thought to carry some weight;
“it is, that the merchant only purchases
“those who were slaves before, and possi-
“bly may, rather than otherwise, render
“their situation more tolerable. But it is
“well known, that the lot of our Slaves,
“when most favourably considered, is very
“hard and miserable; besides which, such
“a trade is taking the advantage of the ig-
“norance and brutality of unenlightened na-
“tions, who are encouraged to war with
“each other for this very purpose, and, it
“is to be feared, are sometimes tempted to
“seize those of their own tribes or families
“that they may obtain the hoped for ad-
“vantage: and it is owned, with regard to
“our merchants, that, upon occasion, they
“observe the like practices, which are
“thought

APPENDIX, No. 1. 5

“ thought to be allowable, because they
“ are done by way of reprisal for theft
“ or damage committed by the natives. We
“ were pleased, however, to meet with a
“ pamphlet on the other side of the ques-
“ tion ; and we entered upon its perusal
“ with the hopes of finding somewhat ad-
“ vanced which might afford us satisfaction
“ on this difficult point. The writer ap-
“ pears to be a sensible man, and capable
“ of discussing the argument ; but the li-
“ mits to which he is confined, rendered
“ his performance rather superficial. The
“ plea he produces from the Jewish law is
“ not, in our view of the matter, at all
“ conclusive. The people of Israel were
“ under a *theocracy*, in which the Supreme
“ Being was in a peculiar sense their King,
“ and might therefore issue forth some or-
“ ders for them, which it would not be
“ warrantable for another people, who were
“ in different circumstances, to oblige.
“ Such, for instance, was the command
“ given concerning the extirpation of the
“ Canaanites, whom, the sovereign Arbiter
“ of life and death might, if he had pleased,
“ have destroyed by plague or famine, or
“ other of those means which we term na-
“ tural causes, and by which a wise Provi-
“ dence fulfils its own purposes. But it
“ would be unreasonable to infer from the
manner

6 APPENDIX, No. I.

“manner in which the Israelites dealt with
“the people of Canaan, that any other na-
“tions have a right to pursue the same me-
“thod. Neither can we imagine that St.
“Paul’s exhortation to servants or slaves,
“upon their conversion, to continue in the
“state in which christianity found them,
“affords any argument favourable to the
“practice here pleaded for. It is no more
“than saying, that Christianity did not
“particularly enter into the regulations of
“civil society at that time; that it taught
“persons to be contented and diligent in
“their stations: but certainly it did not
“forbid them, in a proper and lawful way,
“if it was in their power, to render their
“circumstances more comfortable. Upon
“the whole, we must own, that this little
“treatise is not convincing to us, though, as
“different persons are differently affected
“by the same considerations, it may prove
“more satisfactory to others.”

“IN another place they observe, ‘since
“we are *all brethren*, and God has given to
“*all* men a natural right to *Liberty*, we al-
“low of no *Slavery* among us, unless a per-
“son forfeits his freedom by his crimes.’”

“THAT Slavery is not consistent with the
“English constitution, nor admissible in
“Great Britain, appears evidently by the
“late solemn determination, in the court of
“King’s

APPENDIX, No. I.

7

‘ King’s Bench at Westminster, in the case
 ‘ of James Somerset, the Negro; and why
 ‘ it should be revived and continued in the
 ‘ colonies, peopled by the descendants of
 ‘ Britain, and blessed with sentiments as
 ‘ truly noble and free as any of their fellow
 ‘ subjects in the mother country, is not easily
 ‘ conceived, nor can the distinction be
 ‘ well founded.’

‘ If “ natural rights, such as *life* and *Liberty*, receive no additional strength from
 “ municipal laws, nor any *human legislature*
 “ has *power* to abridge or *destroy* them, un-
 “ less the owner commits some act that a-
 “ mounts to a *forfeiture*;” (a) ‘ If “ the
 “ natural *Liberty* of mankind consists proper-
 “ ly in a power of acting as one thinks fit,
 “ without any restraint or controul unless
 “ by the *law of nature*; being a *right inherent in us by birth*, and one of the *Gifts of God to man* at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of *free will*;”
 (b) ‘ If an *act of Parliament* is *controulable by the laws of God and nature*; (c) and in
 ‘ its consequences may be rendered void for
 ‘ absurdity, or a *manifest contradiction to common reason*: (d) If “ Christianity is a
 “ part of the law of England;” (e) and
 “ Christ

(a) 1 Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, 54. (b) *Dit.*
 125. (c) 4 Bacon’s *Abridg.* 639. (d) 1 *Black. Com.* 91. (e) *Stra. Reports*, 1113.

8 APPENDIX, No. I.

‘ Christ expressly commands, “ Whatsoever
“ ye would that men should do to you, do
“ ye even so to them,” ‘ at the same time
‘ declaring, “ for this is the law and the
“ law and the prophets,” (f) ‘ And if
‘ our forefathers, who emigrated from Eng-
‘ land hither, brought with them all the
‘ rights, liberties, and privileges of the
‘ British constitution (which hath of late
‘ years been often asserted and repeatedly
‘ contended for by Americans) why is it
‘ that the poor footy African meets with so
‘ different a measure of justice in England
‘ and America, as to be *adjudged free* in
‘ the one, and in the other held in the most
‘ *abject Slavery* ?

‘ We are expressly restrained from mak-
‘ ing laws, “ repugnant to,” and directed
‘ to fashion them, “ as nearly as may be,
“ agreeable to, the laws of England.”
‘ Hence, and because of its total inconsis-
‘ tency with the principles of the constitu-
‘ tion, neither in England or any of the
‘ Colonies, is there one law directly in fa-
‘ vor of, or enacting *Slavery*, but by a
‘ kind of side-wind, admitting its existence,
‘ (though only founded on a barbarous
‘ custom, originated by foreigners) attempt
‘ its regulation. How far the point litig-
‘ gated in James Somerſet’s case, would
‘ bear

(a) Matt. vii. 12.

APPENDIX, No. I. 9

“ bear a sober candid discussion before an
“ impartial judicature in the Colonies, I
“ cannot determine; but, for the credit of
“ my country, should hope it would meet
“ with a like decision, that it might appear
“ and be known, that *Liberty* in America,
“ is not a partial privilege, but extends to
“ every individual in it.”

“ I MIGHT here, in the language of the
“ famous JAMES OTIS, Esq; ask, “ Is it
“ possible for a man to have a natural right
“ to make a Slave of himself or his posteri-
“ ty? What man is or ever was born free,
“ if every man is not? Can a father super-
“ sede the laws of nature? Is not every man
“ born as free by nature as his father? (a)
“ There can be no prescription old enough
“ to supersede the law of nature, and the
“ grant of God Almighty, who has given
“ to every man a natural right to be free.
“ (b) The Colonists are by the law of na-
“ ture free born, as indeed all men are,
“ white or black. No better reason can be
“ given for the enslaving those of any co-
“ lour, than such as Baron Montesquieu has
“ humourously assigned, as the foundation
“ of that cruel Slavery exercised over the
“ poor Ethiopeans; which threatens one
“ day to reduce both Europe and America

b “ to

(a) 1 American Tracts by Otis, 4.

(b) Ameri-

can Tracts by Otis, 17.

" to the ignorance and barbarity of the
 " darkest ages. Does it follow that it is
 " right to enslave a man because he is black?
 " Will short curled hair like wool, instead
 " of christians hair, as it is called by those
 " whose hearts are hard as the nether mill-
 " stone, help the argument? Can any lo-
 " gical inference in favour of Slavery, be
 " drawn from a flat nose, a long or a short
 " face? Nothing better can be said in fa-
 " vour of a *trade* that is the most shocking
 " violation of the laws of nature; has a
 " direct tendency to diminish every idea of
 " the inestimable value of Liberty, and
 " makes every dealer in it a tyrant, from
 " the director of an African company, to
 " the petty chapman in needles and pins,
 " on the unhappy coast." (a)

" To Those who think Slavery founded in
 " Scripture, a careful and attentive perusal
 " of the Sacred Writings would contribute
 " more than any thing to eradicate the er-
 " ror; they will not find even the name of
 " Slave once mentioned therein, and applied
 " to a servitude to be continued from parent
 " to child in perpetuity, with approbation.
 " —The term used on the occasion in the
 " sacred text is *Servant*; and, upon a fair
 " construction of those writings, there is no
 " necessity, nor can the service, consistent
 " with

(a) American Tracts, 43, 44.

APPENDIX, No. I. II

“ with the whole tenor of the Scripture, be
“ extended further than the generation spo-
“ ken of ; it was never intended to include
“ the posterity.

“ THE mistaken proverb which prevailed
“ in that early age, “ The fathers had ea-
“ ten four grapes, and the childrens teeth
“ were set on edge,” was rectified by the
prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who de-
clared to the people, that “ they should not
“ have occasion to use that proverb any
“ more ;—Behold all souls are mine, as the
“ soul of the father, so the soul of the son,
“ the soul that sinneth it shall die ;—the son
“ shall not bear the iniquity of the father,
“ neither shall the father bear the iniquity
“ of the son ;—the righteousness of the
“ righteous shall be upon him, and the
“ wickedness of the wicked shall be upon
“ him. (a) “ And the apostle Peter assures
“ us, after the ascension of our Saviour, that
“ God is no respecter of persons, but in
“ every nation he that feareth him is ac-
“ cepted of him.” (b) “ It is also remark-
“ able, that at that time, an *Ethiopian*, “ a
“ man of great authority,” (c) was ad-
“ mitted to the freedom of a Christian,
“ whatever we may think of the colour now,
“ as being unworthy of it.

b 2

“ But

(a) Jer. xxxi. 29. Ezek. xviii. 3, 4, and 20.
(b) Acts x. 34. (c) Ditto, viii. 27.

12 APPENDIX, No. 1.

‘ But admitting Slavery to be established
‘ by Scripture, the command of the Sov-
‘ reign Ruler of the universe, whose eye
‘ takes in all things, and who, for good
‘ reasons, beyond our comprehension, might
‘ justly create a perpetual Slavery to effect
‘ his own purposes, against the enemies of
‘ his chosen people in that day, cannot be
‘ pleaded now against any people on earth ;
‘ it is not even pretended to in justification
‘ of Negro Slavery, nor can the sons of
‘ Ethiopia, with any degree of clearness, be
‘ proved to have descended from any of
‘ those nations who so came under the Di-
‘ vine displeasure as to be brought into ser-
‘ vitude; if they are, and those denuncia-
‘ tions given in the Old Testament were
‘ perpetual, and continue in force, must we
‘ not look upon it meritorious to execute
‘ them fully upon all the offspring of that
‘ unhappy people upon whom they fell,
‘ without giving quarter to any ?’

‘ MANY who admit the indefensibility
‘ of Slavery, considering the subject rather
‘ too superficially, declare it would be im-
‘ politic to emancipate those we are possessed
‘ of; and say, they generally behave ill
‘ when set at liberty. I believe very few
‘ of the advocates for freedom think that
‘ all ought to be manumitted, nay, think
‘ it would be unjust to turn out those who
‘ have

APPENDIX, No. I. 13

have spent their prime of life, and now
require a support; but many are in a
fit capacity to do for themselves and the
public; as to these let every master or
mistress do their duty, and leave conse-
quences to the Disposer of events, who,
I believe, will always bless our actions in
proportion to the purity of their spring.
But many instances might be given of
Negroes and Mulatoes, once in Slavery,
who, after they have obtained their li-
berty, (and sometimes even in a state of
bondage) have given striking proofs of
their integrity, ingenuity, industry, ten-
derness and nobility of mind; of which,
if the limits of this little Piece permit-
ed, I could mention many examples; and
why instances of this kind are not more fre-
quent, we may very naturally impute to
the smallness of the number tried with
freedom, and the servility and meanness of
their education whilst in Slavery. Let us
never forget, that an equal if not a grea-
ter proportion of our own colour behave
worse with all the advantages of birth,
education and circumstances; and we
shall blush to oppose an equitable emanci-
pation, by this or the like arguments.

“ LIBERTY, the most manly and exalt-
ing of the gifts of Heaven, consists in a
“ free and generous exercite of all the hu-
“ man

14 APPENDIX. No. I.

“ man faculties as far as they are compatible with the good of society to which we belong ; and the most delicious part of the enjoyment of the inestimable blessing lies in a consciousness that we are *free*. This happy persuasion, when it meets with a noble nature, raises the soul, and rectifies the heart ; it gives dignity to the countenance and animates every word and gesture ; it elevates the mind above the little arts of deceit, makes it benevolent, open, ingenuous and just, and adds a new relish to every better sentiment of humanity.” (a) On the contrary, “ Man is bereaved of half his virtues that day when he is cast into bondage.” (b)

“ THE end of the christian dispensation, with which we are at present favoured, appears in our Saviours words, “ The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor ; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted ; to preach deliverance to the captives ; and recovery of sight to the blind ; to set at liberty them that are bruised ; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.” (c)

“ THE Editor is united in opinion with the author of the Essay, that slavery is contrary to the laws of reason, and the principles

“ of

(a) Blackwell’s Court of Augustus. (b) Homer.
(c) Luke iv. 18.

APPENDIX, No. I. 15

‘ of revealed religion ; and believes it alike
‘ inimical and impolitick in every state and
‘ country ; for as “ righteousnes exalteth a
“ nation, so sin is a reproach to any people.”
‘ (a) Hence whatever violates the purity of
‘ equal justice, and the harmony of true li-
‘ berty, in time debases the mind, and ulti-
‘ mately draws down the displeasure of that
‘ Almighty Being, who “ is of purer eyes
“ than to behold evil, and cannot look on ini-
‘ quity .” (b) ‘ Yet he is far from censuring
‘ those who are not under the same convic-
‘ tions, and hopes to be understood with cha-
‘ rity and tenderness to all. Every one does
‘ not see alike the same propositions, who
‘ may be equally friends to truth, as our
‘ education and opportunities of knowledge
‘ are various as our faces. He will candidly
‘ confess to any one who shall kindly point
‘ it out: any error which in this inquiry hath
‘ fell from his pen. There can be but one
‘ beatific point of rectitude, but many paths
‘ leading to it, in which persons differing in
‘ modes and non-essentials, may walk with
‘ freedom to their own opinions ; we may
‘ much more innocently be under a mistake,
‘ than continue in it after a hint given,
‘ which occasions our adverting thereto ; for
‘ it seems a duty to investigate the way of
‘ truth

(a) Prov. xiv. 34. (b) Habakuk i, 13.

16 APPENDIX, No. 1.

‘ truth and justice with our utmost ability.’

‘ A much more extensive and perfect view
• of the subject under consideration, has of
• late prevailed than formerly ; and he be-
• lieves nothing is wanting but an impartial
• disinterested attention to make still greater
• advances. Thus, by a gradual progression,
• he hopes the name of *Slavery* will be eradi-
• cated by the general voice of mankind in
• this land of *Liberty*.

‘ THE mode of manumitting negroes in
• New-Jersey is such as appears terrific, and
• amounts almost to a prohibition, because of
• its incumbering consequences, which few
• prudent people chuse to leave their fa-
• milies liable to. It is much easier in se-
• veral other colonies. In Pennsylvania a
• recognizance entered into in THIRTY
• POUNDS to indemnify the township, is a
• compleat discharge. In Mariland, where
• Negroes are so numerous, I am informed,
• the master or mistress may at pleasure
• give Liberty to their slaves without the
• least obligation, and be clear of any future
• burden. Both these are exceptionable,
• and may be improved. Proper distinctions
• are necessary ; for as the freedom of all
• gratis might be unjust, not only to the
• publick but the Slave : so any clog upon
• the owner who gives up his right at an
• age when he cannot have received much
• or any advantage from the labour of the
• individual

APPENDIX- No. I. 17

individual, would be unreasonable. The wisdom of a legislature earnestly disposed to do good, will I hope be directed to surmount every little difficulty in pointing out a scheme more equal and perfect, by steering a middle course ; and proper care being kindly taken to assist and provide for the usefulness of those deserving objects of benevolence, the approbation of Divine Providence will I doubt not, attend such laudable endeavours, and crown them with success.—That the legislative body of each province in America may give due attention to this important engaging subject, and be blessed to frame and establish a plan worthy of the united jurisprudence, wisdom, and benevolence of the *Guardians of Liberty*, is the sincere wish of

THE EDITOR.



C

AN



A N
ESSAY on SLAVERY,

Proving from Scripture its inconsistency, with Humanity and Religion,

By GRANVILLE SHARP.

A REVEREND author, Mr. Thomas Thompson, M. A. has lately attempted to prove " that the African trade for Negroe Slaves is consistent with the principles of *humanity* and *revealed religion*."

FROM Leviticus xxv. 39 to 46, he draws his principle conclusion, viz. " that the buying and selling of Slaves is not contrary to the law of nature, for (says he)

“ he) the Jewish constitutions were
 “ strictly therewith consistent in all
 “ points: and these are in certain cases
 “ the rule by which is determined by
 “ learned lawyers and casuists, what is,
 “ or is not, *contrary to nature.*” I have
 not leisure to follow this author me-
 thodically, but will, nevertheless, ex-
 amine his ground in a general way, in
 order to prevent any ill use that may be
 made of it against the important question
 now depending before the judges. (a)

THE reverend Mr. Thompson’s *pre-*
misses are not true, for the Jewish con-
 stitutions *were not* “*strictly consistent*”
 with the *law of nature* in all points, as
 he supposes, and consequently his prin-
 cipal *conclusion* thereupon is erroneous.
 Many things were formerly tolerated
 among the Israelites, merely through
 the

(a) Meaning I suppose, (says the American editor)
 the case of Somerset, which then depended.

the mercy and forbearance of God, in consideration of their extreme frailty and inability, at that time, to bear a more perfect system of law. Other laws there are in the five books (besides the ceremonial laws now abrogated) which are merely *municipal*, being adapted to the peculiar polity of the Israelitish commonwealth, on account of its situation in the midst of the most barbarous nations, whom the Hebrews were at all times but too much inclined to imitate.

THE universal *moral laws* and those of *natural equity* are, indeed, every where plentifully interspersed among the *peculiar laws* abovementioned; but they may very easily be distinguished by every sincere Christian, who examines them with a *liberal mind*, because the *benevolent purpose* of the Divine Author is

is always apparent in those laws which are to be eternally binding ; for “ it is “ *the reason* of the law which constitutes the *life of the law*,” according to an allowed maxim of our own country, “ *Ratio Legis est anima Legis*,” (Jenk. Cent. 45.) And with respect to these moral and equitable laws, I will readily agree with the Reverend Mr. Thompson, that they are the best rule by which “ learned judges and casuists can determine what is, or is not, *contrary to nature*.”

BUT I will now give a few examples of laws, which are in *themselves contrary to nature or natural equity*, in order to shew that Mr. Thompson’s *premises* are totally false :

THE Israelites were expressly permitted by the law of Moses to give a bill of divorce

orce to their wives whenever they pleased, and to marry other women ; and the women who were put away, were also expressly permitted, by the Mosaic law, *to marry again*, during the lives of their former husbands.

ALL which practices were manifestly contrary to *the law of nature* in its purity, though not perhaps to *the nature of our corrupt affections and desires* ; for Christ himself declared, that “*from the beginning it was not so*,” Matt. xix 8, 9. and at the same time our Lord informed the Jews, that “*Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, suffered them to put away their wives*.”

NEITHER was it according to *the law of nature*, that the Jews were permitted in their behaviour and dealings, to make a partial distinction between their *bretthren*

brethren of the house of Israel, and strangers. This national partiality was not, indeed, either commanded or recommended in their law—but it was clearly *permitted* or *tolerated*, and probably, for the same reason as the last mentioned instance—“thou *shalt not* “lend upon usury to thy brother,” &c.—“unto a *stranger* thou *mayest lend upon* “*usury* &c. Deut. xxiii. 19.—Again—“of a *foreigner* thou *mayest exact* ;” (that is, *whatsoever has been lent*, as appears by the preceding verses) but that which is, “thine, with thy brother, “thine hand shall release,” Deut. xv. 3

Now all these laws were “*contrary to the law of nature*” or “*natural equity*,” (whatever Mr. Thompson, may think) and were certainly, annulled or rather *superseded*, as it were, by the more perfect doctrines of *universal benevolence* taught by Christ himself, who

“ came

“came not to destroy, but to fulfill the law.”

IN the law of Moses we also read,
 “Thou shalt not avenge or bear grudge
 “against the children of thy people but
 “thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy-
 “self,” Leviticus xix. 18.

THE Jews, accordingly, thought themselves sufficiently justified, if they confined this glorious perfection of charity, viz. *the loving others as themselves*, to the persons mentioned in the same verse, viz. “*the children of their own people* ;” for they had no idea that so much love could possibly be due to any other sort of *neighbours* or *brethren*. But Christ taught them by the parable of *the good Samaritan*, that *all strangers* *whatever* even those who are declared enemies, (as were the Samaritans to the Jews) are to be esteemed our *neigh-
hours*

hours or brethren, whenever they stand in need of our charitable assistance.

“ THE Jewish institution” indeed, as Mr. Thompson remarks “ permitted the “ use of *bondservants*,” but did not permit the *bondage of brethren*: STRANGERS ONLY could be *lawfully* retained as *bondmen*—“ of the heathen,” (or, more agreeable to the Hebrew words, **נָגְנִים הַגָּנִים** of the nations) “ that “ are round about you; of *them* shall ye “ buy *bond* men and *bond* maids. More- “ over of the children of *strangers* that “ do sojourn among you, of *them* shall “ ye *buy*,” &c.----“ They shall be your “ *bondmen for ever.*” Levit, xxv 39 to 46.

THIS was the law, I must acknowledge, with respect to a stranger that was purchased ; but with respect to a brother

or Hebrew of the seed of Abraham, it was far otherwise, as the same chapter testifies ; (39th verse) for, “ if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee ; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant : but as an hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee. And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him,” &c. This was the *utmost servitude* that a Hebrew could *lawfully* exact from any of his *brethren* of the house of Israel, unless the servant entered *voluntarily* into a *perpetual servitude* : and, let me add, that it is also, the very *utmost servitude* that can *lawfully* be admitted *among christians* : because we are bound as christians to esteem **EVERY MAN as our brother, and as our neighbour**, which I have already proved ; so that this consequence which

which I have drawn, is absolutely *un-avoidable*. The Jews indeed, who do not yet acknowledge the commands of Christ, may perhaps still think themselves *justified* by the law of Moses, in making partial distinctions between their *brethren* of Israel, and other men? but it would be *inexcusable* in christians to do so! and therefore I conclude, that we certainly have no right to exceed the *limits of servitude*, which the Jews were bound to observe, whenever their poor *brethren* were sold to them: and I apprehend that we must not venture *even to go so far*, because the laws of *brotherly love* are infinitely enlarged, and extended by the gospel of peace, which proclaims "*good will towards men*," without distinction; and because we cannot be said to "*love our neighbours as ourselves*;" or to *do to others as we would they should do unto us*"---whilst we

retain them against their *will*, in a despicable servitude as *slaves*, and *private property*, or mere *chattels*!

THE glorious system of the gospel destroys all *narrow, national partiality*; and makes *us citizens of the world*, by obliging us to profess *universal benevolence*: but more especially are we bound, as christians, to commiserate and assist to the utmost of our power all persons in *distress*, or *captivity*; whatever "the "worshipful committee of the company of merchants trading to *Africa*," may think of it, or their advocate, the reverend Mr. Thompson.

CHARITY, indeed, begins at home; and we ought most certainly to give the preference to our own countrymen, whenever we can do so without injustice; but we may "not do evil that "good

“ *good may come* ;” (though our statesmen, and their political deceivers may think otherwise) we must not, for the sake of *Old England*, and its *African trade*, or for the supposed advantage, or imaginary necessities of our *American colonies*, lay aside our *christian charity*, which we owe to *all the rest of mankind* : because, whenever we do so, we certainly deserve to be considered in no better light than as an overgrown *society of robbers*, a *mere banditti*, who, perhaps, may *love one another*, but at the same time are at enmity with *all the rest of the world*. Is this *according to the law of nature*?-----For shame Mr. Thompson !

I HAVE much more to communicate, but no more time to write :---if I had, I could draw from the scriptures
the

the most alarming examples of God's severe judgments upon the Jews, for tyrannizing over their brethren, and, expressly, for exceeding the limits of servitude just now mentioned. (a) I must find time however to adopt one observation even from the reverend Mr. Thompson, (p. 11.) viz. " This subject will " grow more serious upon our hands, " when we consider the *buying and selling* " *Negroes*, not as a clandestine or " piratical business, but as an *open public trade*, encouraged and promoted by " acts of parliament; for so, if being " contrary to religion, it must be deemed A " NATIONAL SIN; (b) and as such may " have

(a) This I have since accomplished in a tract, intituled, " THE LAW OF RETRIBUTION," &c. &c.

(b) If this just remark by Mr. Thompson, be compared with the above mentioned tract on the *Law of Retribution*, (wherein the usual course of God's judgments

“ have a consequence that would be
 “ always to be dreaded.” May God give
 us grace to repent of this abominable
 “ NATIONAL SIN,” before it is too late!

If I have vindicated the law of Mo-
 ses, much easier can I vindicate the be-
 nevolent apostle Paul, from Mr. Thomp-
 son’s insinuations, with respect to slave-
 ry; for he *did not* entreat *Philemon* to
 take back his servant *Onesimus*, “ in his
 “ former capacity,” as Mr. Thompson
 has asserted, in order to render bond-
 age “ *consistent with the principles of re-
 vealed religion,*” ---but St. Paul said
expressly, “ *not now as a servant, but,*

“ *above*

ments against NATIONS, is fairly demonstrated by a
 variety of unquestionable examples in the scriptures,) it will appear that nothing but a thorough reformation
 with respect to the said “ NATIONAL SIN,” can afford us the least room *even to hope* that THIS NATION, may escape the tremendous effects of GODS TEMPORAL VENGEANCE now dreadfully hanging over us!

"above a servant, a brother beloved," (a) &c. So that Mr. Thompson has notoriously wrested St. Paul's words.

IN the other texts where St. *Paul* recommends submission to *Servants*, for conscience-sake, he at the same time enjoins the master to entertain such a measure of *brotherly love* towards his servants, as must be entirely subversive of the *African* trade, and *West-Indian* slavery.

(a) This single circumstance one would think a sufficient bar to the inferences drawn from this epistle, in favour of slavery, by the reverend Mr. Thompson, and others ; and yet even the learned Archbishop *Theophylact* seemed inclined to admit the same supposed *right of the master*. In the preface to his commentary on this epistle, where he gives a short account of the use and purport of it, and of the doctrines which may be deduced from it, (he says) Τρίτον, ὅτι ἡ χριστιανικὴ εὐλαβείας δελεγεῖ ἀποστολὴν των διεσποτῶν μη βελομετων. *Thirdly. That it is not fit, through pretence of piety, to draw away servants from masters, that are unwilling to*

slavery. And though St. *Paul*, recommends christian patience under servitude, yet, at the same time, he plainly insinuates, that it is inconsistent with

c christianity,

part with them." But though the apostle declared, indeed, to *Philemon* the master, (v. 14.) "*without thy mind, would I do nothing;*" &c. yet this by no means proves *the right of the master*, but only that the apostle, in love and courtesy to *Philemon*, desired, that "*the benefit,*" which he required of him, "*should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly,*" (ver. 14.) for the apostle's *right* to have retained *Onesimus*, even *without the master's consent*, is sufficiently implied in a preceding verse, (viz. 8.) "*though I might be much bold in Christ, to enjoin, (or command) "thee that which is convenient. Yet, (said the apostle,) "for LOVE's SAKE, I rather beseech."*" &c. And a further reason for his not commanding, is also declared, viz. that he depended on the willing obedience of *Philemon*. "*Having confidence (said he) in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.*" And yet that which he really did say, or require in behalf of *Onesimus*, was as strong a recommendation

christianity, and the dignity of Christ's kingdom, that a *christian brother* should be

mendation to *favour* and *superior kindness* as could be expressed. He required him to receive *Onesimus*, “not now as a servant, but above a servant, as a BROTHER beloved,” &c. (16 verse.) that “if he hath wronged thee, or OWETH OUGHT,” (ἢ οφειλει, in which expression even the supposed debt of service may be included,) “put that on my account,” (said the apostle, ver. 18.) which must be a complete discharge of all the master's temporal demands on *Onesimus*; and therefore it is a strange perversion of the apostle's meaning to cite this epistle, *in favour of slavery*, when the whole tenor of it is in behalf of the *slave*! But there is still a further observation necessary to be made, which puts the matter out of dispute.

Theophylact, himself, allows that *Onesimus* (at the very time he was sent back,) was a *minister of the gospel*, or a *minister of preaching* (Τε κηρυγματος, †) which is an office

† αλλα παλιν αποσελει προς ιππηρεσιαν τη κηρυγματος, & αυτος εργατης εγι. But that he should send him back again, to the *service of preaching*, of which he is a *labourer*, (or minister.) Comment on the 1st. verse, page 863. edit. London, 1636.

be a *Slave*. "Can't thou be made
"free?" (says he to the christian servants)
"choose it rather, for he that is *called*
"of the Lord, *being a servant*, is the
"freeman of the Lord; and, in like
e 2 "manner,

office of the sacred ministry, not beneath the highest order in the church, for it was the principal employment even of the apostle himself.

And this opinion of *Theophylact*, is corroborated by a variety of circumstances. By the epistle to the *Colossians*, it appears that *Onesimus* was joined with *Tychicus*, (therein declared to be a *minister*,) || in an ecclesiastical

|| 'All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, (who is) a beloved brother, A FAITHFUL MINISTER AND FELLOW SERVANT IN THE LORD; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might KNOW YOUR ESTATE, AND COMFORT YOUR HEARTS with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother,' (by which it is apparent that Onesimus was joined in the same services, 'TO KNOW THEIR ESTATES AND COMFORT THEIR HEARTS,' an office that would have very ill become him, had he been sent back to his master as a SLAVE, or as Mr. Thompson says 'IN HIS FORMER CAPACITY!') 'who is one of you. They (that is Tychicus and Onesimus, jointly) shall make known unto you all things which (are done) here.' Coloss. iv. 7. 9.

“ manner, he that is called, *being free,*
 “ is the servant of *Christ*,” — “ Ye are
 “ bought with a price; BE NOT THERE-
 “ FORE THE SERVANTS OF MEN.”

The apostle, indeed, had just before
 recom-

tical commission from the apostle to the church of the *Colossians*, at the very time that he was sent back to *Philemon*; § and it would surely have ill become the apostle to send back *Onesimus*, then a *minister of the gospel*, to serve his master *Philemon*, in his former capacity, (that is as a *slave*) which is the doctrine presumed in page 18, of the reverend Mr. *Thompson*’s tract; Mr. *Thompson*, as a *clergyman*, ought to have considered, that this would not have been for the credit of the *gospel ministry*. But *Onesimus* was not only a *minister*, and *preacher*, but afterwards even a *bishop*, which will by no means suit with Mr. *Thompson*’s doctrine. The learned *bishop Fell*, testified from the authority of the *ancients*, that this *Onesimus* was a *bishop*. “ *Onesimus*” says

§ *Ludov. Capellus*, remarks that these epistles, (viz. to the *Colossians* and to *Philemon*) were wrote, (and consequently sent) at the same time, and after assigning several reasons for his opinion, concludes as follows, “ *Ex his itaque, (says he) liquere puto utramque Epistolam simul eodem tempore fuisse scriptam.*” *Hist. Apost. illust.* page 79. *ed Genovæ, 1634.*

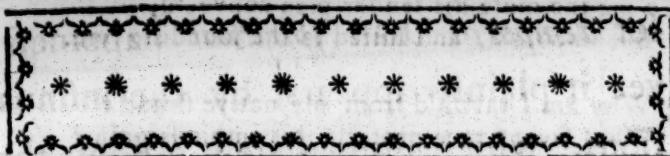
recommended to his disciples to *abide in the same calling*, wherein they were called, and, “*being servants, not to care for it* :” That is, not to grieve on account of their *temporal state*; (for if, instead of thus enjoining *submission*, he had absolutely declared *the iniquity of SLAVERY*, tho’ *established and authorized by the laws of temporal governments*, he would have occasioned more

tumult

(says he in his commentary on Coloss. iv, 5) “*servant to Philemon, a chief man in Colosse. The antierts say that he succeeded Timothy, in the BISHOPRICK of Ephesus.*” And the great archbishop *Usher*, makes express mention of *Onesimus* in that *bishoprick*, from the authority both of *Eusebius* and *Ignatius*, (see his little tract *de Episcoporum et Metropolitanorum Origine*, p. 9. ed. Lond. 1687.) So that though *Paul* mentions to *Philemon* the receiving **ONESIMUS FOR EVER** (*that thou shouldest receive him FOR EVER.*” ver. 15) yet it would be most unreasonable to conceive that the apostle meant that he should receive him **FOR EVER AS A SLAVE!** The several circumstances I have mentioned, demonstrate the contrary.

tumult than reformation among the multitude of SLAVES, more striving for *temporal* than *spiritual* happiness ; yet it plainly appears, by the insinuations, which immediately follow, that he thought it derogatory to the honour of christianity, that men, *who* “ *are* “ *bought*,” with the inestimable *price* of Christ’s blood, should be esteemed *servants* ; that is, *the Slaves*, and private property of other men ; and had christianity been established by *temporal* authority, in those countries where *Paul* preached, as it is at present in these kingdoms, we need not doubt but that he would have urged, nay, compelled the masters, *as he did Philemon*, by the most pressing arguments, to treat their quondam slaves, “ **NOT** “ **NOW AS SERVANTS, BUT ABOVE** “ **SERVANTS----AS BRETHREN BE-** “ **LOVED.**”

A N



A N
E L E G Y

On the miserable STATE of an AFRICAN
SLAVE, by the celebrated and ingeni-
ous WILLIAM SHENSTONE, Esq;

—**S**EE the poor native quit the Lybian shores,
Ah ! not in love's delightful fetters bound !
No radiant smile his dying peace restores,
Nor love, nor fame, nor friendship heals his wound.

Let vacant bards display their boasted woes,
Shall I the mockery of grief display ?
No, let the muse his piercing pangs disclose,
Who bleeds and weeps his sum of life away !

On the wild beach in mournful guise he stood,
Ere the shrill boatswain gave the hated sign ;
He dropt a tear unseen into the flood ;
He stole one secret moment, to repine.

Yet

Yet the muse listen'd to the plaints he made ;
 Such moving plaints as nature could inspire ;
 To me the muse his tender plea convey'd,
 But smooth'd, and suited to the sounding lyre.

“ Why am I ravish'd from my native strand ?
 What savage race protects this impious gain ?
 Shall foreign plagues infest this teeming land,
 And more than sea-born monsters plough the main ?

Here the dire locusts horrid swarms prevail ;
 Here the blue asps with livid poison swell ;
 Here the dry dipsa wriths his sinuous mail ;
 O can we not here, secure from envy, dwell ?

When the grim lion urg'd his cruel chace,
 When the stern panther sought his midnight prey,
 What fate reserv'd me for this christian race ?
 O race more polish'd, more severe than they !

Ye prouling wolves pursue my latest cries !
 Thou hungry tyger, leave thy reeking den !
 Ye sandy waistes in rapid eddies rise !
 O tear me from the whips and scorns of men !

Yet in their face superior beauty glows ;
 Are smiles the mein of rapine and of wrong ?
 Yet from their lip the voice of mercy flows,
 And ev'n religion dwells upon their tongue.

Of blissful haunts they tell, and brighter climes,
 Where gentle minds convey'd by death repair,
 But stain'd with blood, and crimson'd o'er with crimes
 Say, shall they merit what they paint so fair ?

No, careless, hopeless of those fertile plains,
 Rich by our toils, and by our sorrows gay,
 They ply our labours, and enhance our pains,
 And feign these distant regions to repay.

For

For them our tusky elephant expires ;

For them we drain the mine's embowell'd gold ;
Where rove the brutal nations wild desires ?—
Our limbs are pucchas'd, and our life is sold !

Yet shores there are, blest shores for us remain,
And favour'd isles with golden fruitage crown'd,
Where tufted flow'rets paint the verdant plain.
Where ev'ry breeze shall med'cine ev'ry wound.

There the stern tyrant that embitters life
Shall vainly suppliant, spread his asking hand ;
There shall we view the billow's raging strife,
Aid the kind breast, and waft his boat to land."





A P P E N D I X

(No. 2.)

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in *Maryland*, to his Friend in *Lon- don*.

‘**B**UT whether I shall go thither or return home, I am yet undetermined; indeed, no where shall I stay long from England, for I had much rather enjoy the bare necessaries of life there, than the most affluent circumstances in this country of most wretched Slavery; which alone would render the life of any humane man most miserable. There are four things under the Sun, which I equally abhor and abominate, viz. *Slavery* (under which I comprehend all cruelty, oppression and injustice) and *licentiousness, pride and impudence*, all which abound here in a monstrous degree.

‘ The punishments of the poor negroes and convicts, are beyond all conception, being entirely subject to the will of their savage

‘ savage and brutal masters, they are often
‘ punished for not doing more than strength
‘ and nature will admit of, and sometimes
‘ because they can’t on every occasion fall
‘ in with their wanton and capricious hu-
‘ mours. One common punishment, is to
‘ flea their backs with cow hides, or other
‘ instruments of barbarity, and then pour
‘ on hot rum, superinduced with brine
‘ or pickle, rub’d in with a corn husk, in
‘ the scorching heat of the Sun. For cer-
‘ tain, if your judges were sensible of the
‘ shocking treatment of the convicts here,
‘ they would hang every one of them, as
‘ an infinitely less punishment, and trans-
‘ port only those, whose crimes deserve the
‘ severest death. Better be hanged *seven*
‘ hundred times, than serve *seven* years
‘ here ! and there is no redress, for magis-
‘ trates and all are equally interested and
‘ criminal. If I had a child, I had rather
‘ see him the humblest scavenger in the
‘ streets of *London*, than the loftiest ty-
‘ rant in *America*, with a thousand slaves
‘ at his beck.’—

APPENDIX.

(N^o. 3.)

A Letter from *Granville Sharp*, to *Jacob Bryant*, Esq; concerning the Descent of the Negroes.

SIR,

‘ **I** have conceived a very high opinion
‘ of your abilities, by perusing your
‘ learned account of *Egypt, and the Shepherd Kings, &c.* and as you seem to have
‘ studied, very particularly, the history of
‘ the *Cuseans* and antient *Arabians*, you
‘ can (I apprehend) easily resolve some
‘ doubts, relating thereto, which occurred
‘ to me on reading your book.

‘ I HAD always supposed that black men
‘ in general were descended from *Cush*, be-
‘ cause a distinction in colour from the rest
‘ of mankind, seems to have been particu-
‘ larly attributed to his descendants, *the Cushi-
ans*, even to a proverb. “ *Can the Cushi-
an (commonly rendered Ethiopian) change his
Skin,*” &c. (Jeremiah, xiii. 23.) and
‘ therefore

‘ therefore I concluded that all negroes,
‘ as well *East Indian* as *African*, are en-
‘ titled to the general name of *Cushim*,
‘ as being, probably, descended from dif-
‘ ferent branches of the same stock, be-
‘ cause the proverb is equally applicable to
‘ both, with respect to their complexion,
‘ tho’ in many respects they are very dif-
‘ ferent. But in p. 254, of your learned
‘ work, where you are speaking of the *Cu-
‘ seans* in general, you say, that they are
“ to be found within the tropics, almost
“ as low as the Gold coast,” &c. as if you
‘ apprehended, that the negroes on the
‘ Gold coast, and below it, were not de-
‘ scended from *Cush*.

‘ Now, Sir, I shall think myself greatly
‘ obliged, if you will be pleased to inform
‘ me, whether you really have any particu-
‘ lar reason to apprehend that the negroes
‘ on the coast of *Guinea* (from whence our
‘ plantations are most commonly supplied)
‘ are descended from any other stock? Or
‘ whether their descent can at all be traced?

‘ I AM far from having any particular
‘ esteem for the negroes, but as I think
‘ myself obliged to consider them as *Men*,
‘ I am certainly obliged, also, to use my best
‘ endeavours to prevent their being treated
‘ as *beasts*, by our unchristian countrymen,
‘ who deny them the privileges of *human
‘ Nature*; and, in order to excuse their
‘ own

46 APPENDIX, No. 3.

‘ own *brutality*, will scarcely allow that
‘ negroes are *human Beings*.

‘ THE tracing their descent, therefore,
‘ is a point of some consequence to the
‘ subject, in which I am now engaged for
‘ their defence.’ * * * *

I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Old Jewry,
19th Octr. 1772.

humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

JACOB BRYANT, Esq;

LIBRARY

A P P E N D I X

(No. 4.)

Mr. Bryant's Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Cypham, 20th Octr. 1772.

S I R,

‘ I MOST sincerely wish you success in
‘ your laudable purpose: and am very
‘ glad to find in these base times, that there
‘ is a person, who will stand up in defence
‘ of human nature; and not suffer it to be
‘ limited to a set of features and complexion.
‘ There is nothing, I believe, in my wri-
‘ tings, that can affect any argument,
‘ which you may think proper to urge in
‘ favour of those, whom you would patro-
‘ nize. But to take away all embarras-
‘ ment, and uncertainty, I will give you
‘ my opinion upon the subject, which you
‘ have stated to me in your letter, in
‘ respect to the origin of the Nigritæ or
‘ Negroes. You seem to think, that all,
‘ who are of that very deep tint, which is
‘ observable

observable in the natives upon the coast
 of Guinea, are the offspring of *Chus*:
 and all black men in general are of the
 same origin. To this I take the liberty
 to answer, that all the natives of *Africa*
 are more or less dwarf: and even among
 the negroes there are a great variety of
 tints, from a light copper colour to the
 darkest black. All the inhabitants of
 this vast continent are assuredly the sons of
Ham: but not equally descended from
Chus. For though his posterity was very
 dark, yet many of the collateral branches
 were of as deep a die: and *Africa* was
 peopled from *Ham*, by more families
 than one. It was possessed by some of
 them, as there is good grounds to sur-
 mise, before the *Cushites* came into *Egypt*.
 We learn from scripture, that *Ham* had
 four sons, *Chus*, *Mizraim*, *Pbut* and *Ca-*
naan, Gen. x. v. 6. *Canaan* occupied *Pa-*
lestine, and the country called by his
 by his name: *Mizraim Egypt*: But *Pbut*
 passed deep into *Africa*, and, I believe,
 most of the nations in that part of the
 world are descended from him: at least
 more than from any other person.
Josephus says, "that *Pbut* was the foun-
 der of the nations in *Libya*, * and the
 "people

* See *Josephus*, *Antq.* lib. i c. 7.

“ people were from him called, (Φετοι) — “ *Phuti*.” By *Libya* he understands, as the Greeks did, *Africa* in general: for the particular country, called *Libya* proper, was peopled by the *Lubim*, or *Lebabim*, one of the branches from *Mizraim*, Λαβειμ
‘ εξ ου Λιβεις. Chron. Paschale, p. 29.

‘ THE sons of *Phut*, settled in *Mauritania*, where was a country called *Phutia*, and a river of the like denomination. “ *Mauritaniæ Fluvius usque ad præsens tempus Phut dicitur, omnisque circa eum regio Phutensis.* (Hieron. Tradit. Hebrææ.) — — Amnem, quem vocant, “ *Fut* :” (Pliny, lib. 5. c. i.) — Some of this family settled above Egypt, near *Æthiopia*, and were stiled *Troglodytæ*. Φουδ εξ ου Τρωγλοδυται Syncellus, p. 47. Many of them passed inland, and peopled the *Mediterranean* country. In process of time, (after their expulsion from *Egypt*,) the sons of *Chus* made settlements upon the sea coast of *Africa*, and came into *Mauritania*. Hence we find traces of them also in the names of places, such as *Churis*, *Chusares*, upon the coast: and a river *Cusa*, and a city *Cotta*, together with a promontory *Cotis* in *Mauritania*, all denominated from *Chus*; who at different times and by different people was called *Chus*, *Cuth*, *Cosb* and *Cotis*. The river *Cusa* is mentioned by Pliny, lib. 5.

c. 1, and by *Ptolomey*. Many ages after these settlements, there was another irruption of the *Cushites* into these parts, under the name of *Saracens* * and *Moors*; who over ran *Africa*, to the very extremities of mount *Atlas*. They passed over, and conquered *Spain* to the north: and they extended themselves southward, as I said in my treatise, to the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*, and as low as the *Gold Coast*. I mentioned this, because I do not think, that they proceeded much farther: most of the nations to the south being, as I imagine, of the race of *Phut*. The very country upon the river *Gambia* on one side, is at this day called *Phuta*, of which *Bluet*, in his history of *Juba Ben Solomon*, gives an account.

It is not possible to discriminate at this æra of time the several castes among the black nations, but I should think, that we may be pretty certain, that they were not all *Cushim*, or *Cuseans*. The Negroes are woolly headed; and so were some of the *Aethiopes* or *Cushim*: but nothing can be inferred from this: for many of the latter had long hair, as we learn from *Herodotus*, lib. 7. c. 70. θυτριχες. We

find

* Query.—Whether the *Saracens* may not rather be said to be of the line of *Shem*, as being descended from *Abraham*?—Though indeed, both the mother and the wife of *Ishmael*, were *Egyptians*.

APPENDIX, No. 4.

find from *Mosaellinus*, that the Egyptians were *Cippi*, and had a tendency to woolly hair; so that this circumstance cannot always be looked upon as a family characteristic.

THIS, Sir, is my opinion concerning the people in question, which I submit to your consideration, merely as matter of opinion: for I cannot pretend to speak with certainty. It makes very little difference in respect to the good cause, which your humanity prompts you to espouse, whether the *Nigritæ* are *Phurians*, or *Cushites*. They are certainly the sons of *Ham*: and, what is more to the purpose, they are the workmanship of God, formed in his image with a living Soul; as well as ourselves. Consequently they deserve better treatment, than they have generally experienced from those, who look upon themselves, as more enlightened, and possessed of a greater degree of humanity. I join with you sincerely in detesting the cruel traffic: and am, with great truth, S I R,

Your most obedient,
and most humble Servant,
J A C O B B R Y A N T.

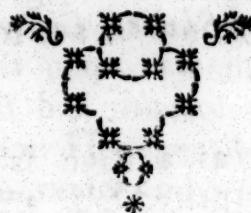
P. S. You are pleased to observe, that a distinction in colour from the rest of mankind

kind seems to have been particularly attributed to the descendants of the *Cushim*. They certainly were very dark: but so were all the sons of *Ham*. And it is difficult to say, who were the darkest, as it was a circumstance depending upon the situation of the people spoken of, and upon many occult causes. The same family in different parts varied from itself, as I have shewn from *Herodotus*. The sacred writers speak of the *Cushi's* complexion particularly, because they were most acquainted with it, as being very near *Shem*. There were several regions, called *Cushan* or *Æthiopia*, one of which was upon the confines of *Judea*, near *Amalec* and *Edom*; but still nearer to *Midian*. Hence the prophet *Habbakuh* says in a vision,—“ *I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction, and the curtains of Midian did tremble.*” C. iii. v. 7. These were the *Araba Cushitæ*; with whom the *Israelites* were most acquainted. Of the sons of *Pbut*, and of the *Ludim*, *Lebabim*, and other descendants of *Ham*, in *Africa*, they had probably little or no cognizance, excepting only the *Mizraim*, and the *Æthiopians* immediately above them to the south of *Syene*. With these they were acquainted. Should it be in my power to give you any farther satisfaction, I shall be very proud of your commands. * * * * *

THE

APPENDIX, NO. 4. 53

' THE whole of what you mention, that
' all Moors, Negroes, and black persons are
' from one common stock is most assuredly
' true, if you make the head of that family
' *Ham*, instead of *Chus*. One remove higher
' makes every thing strictly consonant to
' the truth.'



APPEN-



APPENDIX,

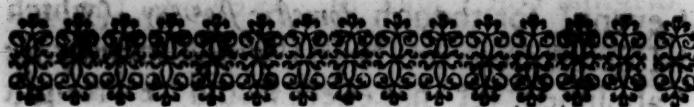
(No. 5.)

The Regulations lately adopted by the *Spaniards*, at the *Havanna*, and some other Places, for the gradual *enfranchisement of Slaves*, are to the following Effect.

AS soon as a slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are registered in a public register; and the master is obliged, by law, to allow him *one working day*, in every week, to himself, *besides Sundays*; so that, if the slave chuses to work for his master on that day, he receives the *wages of a freeman* for it; and whatever he gains by his labour, on that day, is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot deprive him of it. This is certainly a considerable step towards the abolishing *absolute slavery*. As soon as the slave is able to purchase *another working day*, the master is obliged to sell it to him at a proportionable price, *viz.* one fifth part of his original

‘ original cost ; and so, likewise, the remaining four days, at the same rate, as soon as the slave is able to redeem them ; after which he is *absolutely free* : This is such encouragement to industry, that even the most indolent are tempted to exert themselves. Men, who have thus worked out their freedom, are enured to the labour of the country, and are certainly the most useful subjects that a colony can acquire. Regulations might be formed upon the same plan to encourage the industry of slaves *that are already imported into the colonies*, which would teach them how to maintain themselves, and be *as useful*, as well as *less* expensive to the planter. They would by such means become members of society, and have an interest in the welfare of the community ; which would add greatly to the strength and security of each colony : whereas, at present, many of the plantations are in *continual danger of being cut off by their slaves*, a fate which they but *too justly deserve*.'

olden age, I suppose
he now to have the
for the improvement
of the country.



APPENDIX,

(No. 6.)

Extract of a Letter from the Author, to a Gentleman at Philadelphia.

— and surely there needs no argument to demonstrate the weakness and danger of the more southern colonies, from the immense multitude of slaves, that are forcibly detained therein !

THE congress have acted nobly in forbidding the iniquitous importation of *more slaves*; but the business is but half done, 'till they have agreed upon some equitable and safe means of gradually *enfranchising* those which remain. No time should be lost in forwarding this equitable measure; — and, to secure the affections of the negroes, assurances should be immediately given of such friendly intentions towards them, lest any attack should, in the mean while, be made in those quarters, which might

APPENDIX, No. 6. 57

‘ might encourage an *insurrection*. I tremble
‘ for the probable consequences of such an
‘ event! for though *domestic slavery*, (which
‘ I detest from my heart) would thereby be
‘ abolished, yet that effect would be wrought
‘ at the expence of *public Liberty*; and the
‘ *tyranny* and *injustice* of *private individuals*
‘ would seem, perhaps, to be too severely
‘ punished by that horrid carnage and im-
‘ placability, which usually attend the con-
‘ flicts between masters and slaves!

‘ *LET private interest* therefore give place
‘ to *justice and right*, which will most effec-
‘ tually administer to the *public safety*.

‘ *LET* it be remembered that many of
‘ the negroes are natives of the colonies,
‘ and consequently have *a natural right* to a
‘ *free existence* therein, as well as the *Land-
holders* themselves. I shall not presume
‘ to *advise* the mode of effecting this im-
‘ portant and necessary *enfranchisement*,
‘ but will only offer a few hints in order to
‘ promote the *consideration* and *determina-
tion* of those who are best able to judge
‘ of the matter.

‘ *SUPPOSE* the value of every slave now in
‘ the colonies, was to be fairly estimated, by
‘ juries appointed for that purpose, and the
‘ value to be entered, under their inspection,
‘ (as a pecuniary *debt* due from each negroe
‘ to his master,) in a public register for each
‘ district. Suppose also that the *landholders*,
‘ *who*

58 APPENDIX, No. 6.

‘ who do not occupy all their grounds, were
‘ advised to divide what lands they can spare
‘ into *compact little farms*, with a small wooden
‘ cottage to each, which should be allotted
‘ to those negroes only, who are natives of
‘ the colony, or else have been so long in it,
‘ that their dispositions are sufficiently known,
‘ whether or not they may safely be entrust-
‘ ed with their liberty. Let such negroes hold
‘ these small portions of land by leases, for
‘ a certain term of years; and at equitable
‘ rents, to be paid in such portions of *the*
‘ *produce* from time to time, as shall be
‘ thought most reasonable, leaving the ten-
‘ ants a moderate gain, (besides their neces-
‘ sary subsistence) to encourage industry, and
‘ yet so as to yield the landlords a due profit
‘ from each portion of their estates, besides
‘ an adequate allowance to reimburse (within
‘ the limited time) not only the registered
‘ price of their quondam slaves, but also
‘ whatever sums they may have advanced to-
‘ wards the expence of *building*, of *implements*,
‘ of *live stock*, of *seed*, &c. &c. the amount
‘ of which ought to be added to the first
‘ debt and registered, in like manner, before
‘ the leases are executed. By these means the
‘ landlords will lose nothing of their wealth,
‘ and yet the most useful and worthiest of the
‘ negroes will acquire a *natural interest* in
‘ the welfare and safety of the community,
‘ which will insure their assistance against
‘ any

APPENDIX, No. 6. 59

any hostile attempt of the rest. Other negroes, that are not capable of managing and shifting for themselves, nor are fit to be trusted, all at once, with liberty, might be delivered over to the care and protection of a county committee, in order to avoid the baneful effects of *private property in men*; and might, by the said committee, be let out, as *hired servants*, to such persons as would undertake the charge of them, to be paid (also *in produce*) towards the discharge of the registered debt for each man's original price; and the labourer himself in the mean while to be allowed one day in a week (beside the Sunday) for his own profit, or be paid for it according to the mode of the *Spanish regulations*, (which I before transmitted) that he may have an opportunity to acquire a little property of his own, which will *prepare his mind*, as well as his circumstances for freedom, by enabling him, as a member of the community to shift for himself at the time of his discharge. By some such regulations, as these, slavery might be changed into a condition, more nearly resembling that of *hired servants*, as no master would be the absolute proprietor of those he employs, and yet all reasonable advantages arising from their labour, would remain; which must occasion a reciprocal improvement in the morality and humanity both of masters

ters and servants; and in process of time, instead of *wretched slaves*, a new and useful order of men, at present unknown in America, (where every *freeman* cultivates his own ground only) would be established amongst you; I mean a hardy body of *free peasants*, serving either as *trusty tenants* or *farmers*, to improve the estates of landed gentlemen, or else as *laborious cottagers*, who might be employed with infinite advantage to the neighbourhood, wherever established, especially if they were encouraged by an allotment of a small patch of land for a potatoe ground or garden, with a right of pasture for a little live stock upon some common field in the neighbourhood of their little cottages.—Landholders by this means would have their estates better peopled and improved, and yet avoid the guilt and danger of oppression. In the mean while, the hours of labour should be uniformly regulated, to prevent the oppression of avaricious exactors, and the danger of discontent: and schools should be opened in every district, to give the poor labourers and their children, some general ideas of morality and religious knowledge, which constitute the most effectual *bond of peace*. These regulations I mention only by way of hint: you have the same earnest regard for

APPENDIX, No. 6. 61

‘ for the cause of general liberty, and *the natural rights of mankind* that I have, and much greater abilities to defend them, and to propose a more perfect system than what is here suggested. Let me therefore intreat you to consider this matter, and to forward, as soon as possible, some scheme of general enfranchisement, because American liberty cannot be firmly established ’till this is done.

‘ I am with great esteem,

‘ Dear SIR,

‘ Your affectionate friend

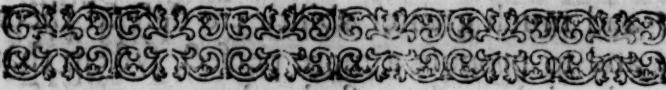
‘ and humble servant,’

London,

18 July, 1775:

‘ GRANVILLE SHARP.’

APPEN-



A P P E N D I X,

(No. 7.)

Extract from Mr. Morgan's Book, intituled, '*A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery, in the West Indies.*'

—Page 12.—‘ Nothing can be more opposite to every idea of justice and morality than the present practice of buying slaves, to cultivate the West Indian islands and the southern provinces on the continent of America; nor can any thing, I think, be eventually more fatal — * * *

Page 13.—‘ Yet something, out of worldly prudence, ought to be done;—for, as this evil has been violently introduced, contrary to the natural course of things and the constitution of the world, it will one day find a remedy even in its excess. Matters will be fatally brought to a crisis, and nature will vindicate her own laws,

‘ and

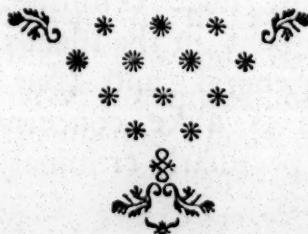
—M H T A

and restore the credit of her equal and just administration, to the lasting punishment of those who abused it. THIS WILL BE WHEN THE BLACKS OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES ON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA SHALL BE NUMEROUS ENOUGH TO THROW OFF AT ONCE THE YOKE OF TYRANNY TO REVENGE THEIR WRONGS IN THE BLOOD OF THEIR OPPRESSORS, AND CARRY TERROR AND DESTRUCTION TO THE MORE NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS. Such a revolution cannot take place in the islands until this period, on account of the want of intelligence and communication between the slaves of one island and another, and of the easy communication and mutual assistance of whites. But an insurrection on the continent, once communicated, will be an incitement in the islands, and a signal for a general and (but that every Englishman is alike concerned, and the planter not peculiarly criminal) A MERITED CARNAGE.

Nothing can be conceived MORE DESTRUCTIVE, MORE INSATIATE, THAN THE WARS WHICH WILL FOLLOW THIS EVENT; they will be every where marked with THE MOST HORRIBLE CRUELTIES, and THE MOST FURIOUS REVENGE. The distinction of *black* and *white*, which we have

64 APPENDIX, No. 7.

‘ have so unreasonably made the marks of
‘ freedom and slavery, will then become
‘ the obvious colours of mutual hostility and
‘ revenge; and it seems likely that these
‘ wars MAY END TO THE DISADVANTAGE
‘ OF THE WHITES; because the blacks, as will
‘ be presently observed, will increase faster,
‘ and because their nature seems better able
‘ to bear the severity of cold, than the
‘ whites can that of heat.’—&c.



APPEN-



A P P E N D I X,

(No 8.)

A Copy of what “*is said* to be the
“substance of Lord *Mansfield*’s speech
“in the case of *Somerset* and *Knowles*:”

ON Monday the 22d June, in Trinity term, 1772, the court of *King’s Bench*, proceeded to give judgement in the Case of *Somerset* and *Knowles*, upon the return of the *Habeas Corpus*. *LORD MANSFIELD* first stated the return; and then spoke to the following purport, which is taken from the second edition of a Tract, printed in 1773, intituled, “*Considerations on the Negroe Cause, so called, addressed to the right honourable lord Mansfield, lord chief justice of the court of King’s Bench, by SAMUEL ESTWICK, A. M. Assistant Agent for the island of Barbadoes.*” page vii. *viz.*

‘ We pay due attention to the opinion of Sir *Philip Yorke* and Mr. *Talbot*, in the year 1729, by which they pledged themselves to the British planters for the

' legal consequences of bringing Negroe-slaves
 ' into this kingdom, or their being baptiz-
 ' ed ; which opinion was repeated and re-
 ' cognized by lord Hardwicke, sitting as
 ' chancellor, on the 19th of October, 1749,
 ' to the following effect : he said, " that
 " trover would lay for a negroe-slave : that a
 " notion prevailed, that if a slave came into
 " England, or became a Christian, he there-
 " by became emancipated ; but there was no
 " foundation in law for such a notion : that
 " when he and Lord Talbot were attorney
 " and solicitor general, this notion of a slave
 " becoming free by being baptized per-
 " vailed so strongly, that the planters indus-
 " triously prevented their becoming chris-
 " tians : upon which their opinion was taken ;
 " and upon their best consideration they were
 " both clearly of opinion, that a slave did not
 " in the least alter his situation or state to-
 " wards his master or owner, either by be-
 " ing christened, or coming to England :
 " that though the statute of Charles II. had
 " abolished" (*homage* \ddagger) " tenure so far,
 " that no man could be a *Villein regardant* ;
 " yet if he would acknowledge himself a
 " *Villein engrossed* in any court of record, he
 ' knew

\ddagger See a part of my lord Mansfield's speech printed
 in the Appendix, (p. 11.) of "a Treatise upon the
 Trade from Great Britain to Africa, by an African
 merchant," wherein this word "homage" is inserted.

“ knew of no way by which he could be entitled to his freedom, without the consent of his master.” ‘ We feel the force of the inconveniences and consequences that will follow the decision of this question: yet all of us are so clearly of one opinion upon the *only* question before us, that we think we ought to give judgment without adjourning the matter to be argued before all the judges, as usual in the habeas corpus, and as we at first intimated an intention of doing in this case. The only question then is, *Is the cause returned sufficient for the remanding him? If not, he must be discharged.* The cause returned is, the slave absented himself and departed from his master’s service, and refused to return and serve him during his stay in *England*; whereupon, by his master’s orders, he was put on board the ship by force, and there detained in secure custody, to be carried out of the kingdom and sold. So high an act of dominion must derive its authority, if any such it has, from the law of the kingdom *where* executed. A foreigner cannot be imprisoned *here* on the authority of any law existing in his own country. The power of a master over his servant is different in all countries, more or less limited or extensive, the exercise of it therefore must always be regulated

' by the laws of the place where exercised.
 ' The state of slavery is of such a nature,
 ' that it is incapable of being now intro-
 ' duced by courts of justice upon mere rea-
 ' soning, or inferences from any principles
 ' natural or political; it must take its rise
 ' from *positive law*; the origin of it can in
 ' no country or age be traced back to any
 ' other source. Immemorial usage preserves
 ' the memory of *positive law* long after all
 ' traces of the occasion, reason, authority,
 ' and time of its introduction, are lost; and
 ' in a CASE SO ODIOUS AS THE CONDITION
 ' OF SLAVES MUST BE TAKEN STRICTLY.
 ' (*Tracing the subject to natural prin-
 ' ciples, the claim of slavery never can be sup-
 ' ported.*) (‡) THE POWER CLAIMED BY
 ' THIS RETURN WAS NEVER IN USE
 ' HERE: (or acknowledged by the law.) No
 ' master ever was allowed here to take a
 ' slave by force to be sold abroad because he
 ' had deserted from his service, or for any
 ' other reason whatever; WE CANNOT SAY,
 ' the cause set forth by this return IS ALLOW-

(‡) These additions in Italics between hooks before
 and after the words "THE POWER CLAIMED BY
 THIS RETURN WAS NEVER IN USE HERE," are
 taken from the notes of a very ingenious and able
 counsellor, who was present when the judgement
 was given.—The rest of his notes sufficiently agree
 in substance with what Mr. Elwick has printed.

‘ED OR APPROVED OF BY THE LAWS OF
‘THIS KINGDOM, and therefore the man
‘must be discharged.’

Upon this Mr. Estwick has been pleased to observe as follows, ‘I must confess (says he) ‘I have been greatly puzzled in endeavouring ‘to reconcile this judgement with this state of ‘it, and with my comprehension,’ &c. But the writer quoted by the *African merchant* before mentioned, is not so modest in his censure of this judgement, nor so honest in his *recital* of it, as Mr. Estwick, for he partially conceals the most material part of the learned judge’s speech, because it happens to make against his own wicked cause; and tells us by way of excuse for so notorious and partial an omission—that “the remainder of the speech is too vague to come into consideration,” &c. (p. 12.) Another anonymous writer (author of a pamphlet, intitled ‘CANDID REFLECTIONS upon THE JUDGEMENT lately awarded by the Court of King’s Bench, in Westminster Hall, on what is commonly called the NEGROE CAUSE, by a Planter,’) after comparing this JUDGEMENT of the King’s Bench, with the opinions of the judges *Holt* and *Powel*, and those of the attorney and solicitor general, *York* and *Talbot*, &c. is pleased to reflect thereupon as follows. “A point, (says he) upon which “these great Oracles of the law have published
“such

" Such opposite sentiments, seems as far as ever
 " from being established upon the solid ground of
 " absolute PRECISION. The planters of course
 " have been left (says he) as much puzzled
 " by this DELPHIC AMBIGUITY, as the sages
 " themselves appear to have been, in forming
 " their judgements upon the subject. The mat-
 " ter having been CONFOUNDED in this
 " GRAND UNCERTAINTY," &c. (p. 57.)
 But these heavy charges of the want of
 " PRECISION," of " DELPHIC AMBIGUITY,"
 and of being " CONFOUNDED in GRAND UN-
 " CERTAINTY," &c. are so far from being
 " CANDID REFLECTIONS," (as this author
 would have us believe them,) that even *his*
 own evidence on the preceding page, clearly
 proves the falsehood and injustice of his
 censures; for he has there given us the
 EFFECT of that late judgment of the court
 of King's Bench, in THE CLEAREST TERMS,
 without the least doubt or difficulty; so that
 the *delphic ambiguity*, of which he immediately
 after complains, must be (even according
 to his own evidence,) a mere *calumny*!

After reciting the opinion of lord chief
 justice *Holt*, he immediately adds as follows.

" Lord chief justice mansfield (says he)
 " adds to this effect.

" That the laws of Great Britain do not
 " authorize a master to reclaim his fugi-
 " tive SLAVE, confine or transport him out of
 " the kingdom. In other words;" (says
 he)

he) " that a negroe slave, coming from the
" colonies into Great Britain becomes, *ipso*
" *facto, FREE.*"

Thus, notwithstanding the *un-candid reflections* of this author about DELPHIC AMBIGUITY, yet even *he himself* has without doubt or difficulty, declared THE certain and unavoidable EFFECT of the judgement delivered by Lord Mansfield! That this author (notwithstanding his prejudices, and unjust censures about ambiguity) has really stated the *certain* and *unavoidable* EFFECT of the said judgment, will appear by the following remarks upon it.



A P P E N D I X,

(No. 9.)

Remarks on the Judgment of the Court
of King's Bench, in the Case of
Stewart and Somerset. By Gran-
ville Sharp.

THIS judgment will not appear doubtful and inexplicit, (as some have too hastily esteemed it) if the whole be taken together, and THE EFFECT of it be duly considered.

LORD Mansfield pronounced the sentiments or judgment of the whole bench, and therefore if any thing was wrong, the blame ought not to rest on him alone; nevertheless, if we fairly examine what was said, we shall find no room for blame or cavil. His lordship said, "We pay due attention to the opinion of Sir Philip York and Mr. Talbot, in the year 1729,"

Now

Now the purport of that opinion was, that the master ‘ *may legally compel his slave to return to the plantations.*’

Lord Mansfield modestly declined giving a direct contradiction, in express words, to the opinion of two such very eminent and learned lawyers; but chose rather to condemn it, tacitly, by the effect of the judgment, which he was about to pronounce; and therefore he merely recited the opinion without the least comment, and proceeded to the determination of the court upon the case before them; which is clear and incontrovertible with respect to the main point of the question, viz. the power claimed by the master, of carrying away his slave by force.

‘ *The power claimed by this return, (said the chief justice) was never in use here, or acknowledged by the law.*’ Now it was certainly the duty of the court to give judgment according to the known laws, and not to be influenced by any opinion whatsoever.

THEY acknowledged, indeed, the having ‘ *paid due attention*’ to the said opinion; but as their determination was diametrically opposite to the assertions in that opinion, it is manifest, that the court *did not think it grounded in law*, according to which alone they were bound to determine. The conclusion of lord Mansfield’s speech contains

more substantial and unanswerable reasons for the judgment he was about to give, than the generality of his hearers, perhaps, were aware of; for he very ingeniously expressed in the small compass of two short sentences, that the masters claim was contrary to three principal foundations of the *English law*, viz. *NATURE, USE, (or Custom,) and the WRITTEN LAW*; which last also includes two other foundations, viz. *MAXIMS* and *STATUTES*. With respect to the first, he said — “*tracing the subject to NATURAL principles, the claim of SLAVERY never can be supported.*” With respect to the second, he said, — “*The power claimed by this return, was never in use here,*” and thirdly, that it was “*never acknowledged by THE LAW.*”

THESE seem to have been *the reasons* of the determination; and consequently the court was obliged by *the common law* (which always favours *LIBERTY*) to discharge the man from the *unnatural* and *unprecedented* claims of his master, which was accordingly done, so that the true meaning of this determination is rendered clear and *incontrovertible*, as well by *the effect of it*, as by the *unanswerable reasons* above mentioned.

THAT

“*Law favoureth life, LIBERTY, and DOWER.*”
 “*Law regards the PERSON above his possessions, -- LIFE*
 “*and LIBERTY, most;* &c. (*Principia Legis et Equit.*
 p. 56.)
 “*LIBERTAS est res inestimabilis.*” (*Jenk. Cent. 52.*)

THAT there is nothing *doubtful* or *inexplicit* in this *judgement*, delivered by lord Mansfield, will further appear by the following *report* of a case in the PREROGATIVE COURT, wherein this very determination on *Somerset's* case, is expressly cited, and the *EFFECT* of it clearly and fully declared by a learned judge of that court. And the propriety of the said judgment has very lately been still further confirmed by a decree also in THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY, after a very learned and solemn debate concerning the *legality*, or, *illegality of Slavery in England*, wherein the merits of the question on both sides was fully examined and discussed. A short state of the Case, together with the substance of the decree will be found in Appendix, No. 11. The offence expressed in this latter Case was so flagrantly wicked in all its circumstances, and upon the whole, was so notorious a contempt of the laws and constitution of this kingdom, as well as of *natural right*, and common honesty, that all persons, who have any regard for justice, must be moved with indignation against the authors of the mischief, and must wish to see them corrected by some *adequate* and *exemplary punishment*, instead of a decision against them for the mere *recovery of wages*. In order therefore to prevent any unjust prejudice of well meaning people, against the manner of proceeding in this case for redress, it is ne-

cessary to remark, that the negroe did not 'apply for redress of these injuries,' till more than two years after they were committed, whereby he was deprived of the satisfaction to which THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT would otherwise have entitled him 'IN ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURTS OF RECORD,' viz.--- 'to recover his treble costs, besides damages, which damages so to be given, (lays the act) shall not be less than FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS,' that is five hundred pounds from each offender,—from every individual concerned (and these seem, in the present case, to have been more than 4 or 5) that had either been 'advising, aiding, or assisting,' in so flagrant a breach of the peace; and they would likewise have been subject to all the 'pains, penalties, forfeitures, losses or disabilities ordained in THE STATUTE of PROVISION and PRÆ-MUNIRE! See my 'Representation of the injustice, and dangerous tendency of tolerating Slavery in England,' printed in 1769, pages 25 to 29.

GRANVILLE SHARP.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

(No. 10.)

CASE,

Prerogative Court, May 11th, 1773.
CAY and CRICKTON.

—A. B. deceased, in 1769, among other effects, left behind him a *negroe servant*. CRICKTON, the executor, was called upon by CAY, to give in an *inventory* of the deceased's *goods and chattels*, which he accordingly did, but omitted the *negroe*.

This omission was made a ground of exception to the *inventory*, as being, therefore, not *perfect*.

UPON argument, it was said by the council on behalf of Crickton, that by a very late case in the King's Bench, of Knowles

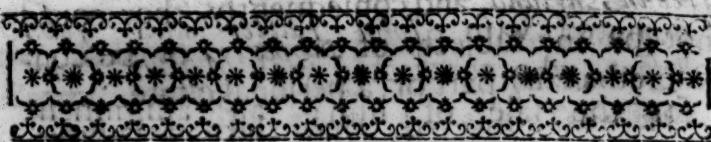
and

(a) and *Somerset*, negroes were declared to be *free in England*, and consequently, they could not be the subjects of *property*, or be considered as any part of a personal estate.

IT was answered, that the case above-mentioned was determined only in 1772; that A. B. died in 1769, at which time negroes were in some respects, considered as property, and therefore that he ought to have been included in the account,

THE judge (Dr. *Hay*,) said that this court had no right to try any question relating to freedom and slavery; but as *Negroes* had been *declared free* by the court which had the proper jurisdiction, that determination referred to them, as well at the preceding time, as at the present, and therefore directed, that article, in which the *negroe* was mentioned, to be struck out of the *exceptive allegation*.

(a) *Knowles* was the master of the ship who detained *Somerset*, by order of *Mr. Stewart*, who claimed the latter as his *property*.



A P P E N D I X,

(No. 11.)

High Court of Admiralty, before Sir Geo. Hay, Knt. L.L.D. June, 29, 1776.

C A S E.

ROGERS, alias RIGGES against JONES.

Dr. Wynne
Dr. Bever
Proctor Torriano.

Dr. Harris
Dr. Calvert
Proctor Holman.

GEORGE ROGERS alias RIGGES,
a negro about nineteen years of age, had
been a servant to several gentlemen in
England, and in the summer of 1766,
being

18 APPENDIX, No. II.

• being then out of place, became acquainted with John Latter and John Sessins, who contracted with Arthur Jones for the sale of him; an assignment was accordingly drawn for that purpose, and signed by John Latter, by which Rogers was transferred to Messrs. Mason and Jones, as a slave, for the sum of twelve guineas.

• SOME time in August, 1766, after the sale above mentioned, Rogers, under some false pretences, was carried on board the ship *Britannia*, then lying at Deptford, of which Messrs. Mason and Jones were owners, was there detained against his will, and that he might not escape, was carried down into the sail room, by order of the chief mate, and the gratings were put upon him. In this confinement he was kept, till the ship set sail, when he was released, and suffered to go about upon deck; but not being entered in the ship's books as a mariner, nor having any particular office, or wages assigned to him, he was set to work about the ship's duty in general till he was appointed as an assistant to the cook, which office he executed sometimes as assistant, and sometimes as principal cook, during the whole voyage. The ship first sailed to the coast of Africa, on the SLAVE TRADE, and

and from thence to *Porto Rico*, where he was offered to sale, by the captain of the *Britannia*, as a prime slave; but Rogers having found an opportunity of relating his story to the Spanish merchants, they refused to purchase him; he therefore returned with the ship, in which he still acted in his former capacity of assistant cook; and upon their arrival in the port of *London*, in *May 1768*, when the other mariners were paid and discharged, he was still detained on board against his will.

HERE he continued for some time, till he contrived to give the officers the slip, and by the assistance and advice of some friends, went to *Doctors Commons*, and applied to Mr. *Faulckner*, a proctor, to put him in a way of recovering his wages, or some other recompence for his labour. Mr. *Faulckner* accordingly wrote to *Arthur Jones*, one of the owners, for that purpose; and *Rogers* being appointed likewise to meet *Jones* at the proctor's office, was waiting at a public house, in *Doctors Commons*, till sent for; when *Jones*, *Seffins*, and another man, came into the house, forced *Rogers*

‘gers into a coach, conveyed him back, and forced him on board another ship, where he was chained to the main-mast, till he was released by the deputy-marshall of the High Court of Admiralty, with the assistance of Mr. *Shea*, one of his old masters, and some other friends, who had obtained a warrant to take him out of his confinement.

‘SEVERAL reasons prevented his applying for redress of these injuries, till the beginning of the year 1774, when Mr. *Torriano* was employed to commence an action against *Arthur Jones*, as one of the owners, for the purpose of recovering the usual wages, or some other recompence in lieu thereof.

‘AFTER the usual proceedings, the cause was brought for hearing on June, 29, 1776; when the facts being all clearly proved as above stated, the principal question was,——How far the plea of *SLAVERY*, set up by the defendant, could be admitted in bar of the demand of wages?

‘It was insisted on by the counsel on behalf of *Rogers*, that the kind of slavery, here spoken of, never had any existence under the laws of *England*; and in support of that, referred to the well known Case

‘of

‘ of Knowles and *Somerset*, before lord Mansfield; and likewise to a late one in the PREROGATIVE COURT, of *Cay* and *Crichton*.

‘ THE counsel for the defendant argued, that, till the case of *Somerset*, the law of *England* admitted slavery; and in support of this, they quoted the authority of Lord Chief Justice *Hale*; and, in particular, the opinions of the Lords *Talbot* and *Hardwick*.’

THE Decree of the Court thereupon was, in substance, as follows.

‘ *THERE* are two principal points in this cause; (said the Judge)

‘ 1st. Whether such a service is proved (as stated in the summary Petition) as to entitle the plaintiff to the wages demanded? and
‘ 2dly. Whether the plea of slavery shall be a sufficient bar to the claim?’

‘ With regard to the FIRST, it appears by the fullest evidence, that the plaintiff had served on board the ship, either in the capacity of assistant to the cook, or as cook himself, during the greatest part of the voyage, and consequently was entitled to some recompence for his services; but not being entered as a mariner in the ship’s books, nor having any stipulated

‘ stipulated wages assigned him, it being probable that the owners meant to sell him again in the West Indies, he cannot be allowed any specific sum under the name of WAGES; but as he certainly performed the duty to which he was assigned, without any objection to his behaviour in it, the maritime law clearly gives him a QUANTUM MERUIT. The cook’s wages appear to have been £1. 5s. 6d. per Month, which is more than Rogers, most probably, could fairly deserve. But upon inspection of the mariners contract, it appears that there were several negroe boys in the same ship, in the quality of apprentices, who were allowed from 10s. to 17s. and 6d. per month; he signified his opinion therefore, that Rogers might fairly deserve 15s. per month, which he accordingly decreed him, from the time of his being first carried on board.

‘ With regard to the SECOND point, it was urged (said the judge) that the plaintiff was a SLAVE, and consequently was not entitled to any reward for his service at all.

‘ The practice of buying and selling slaves (the learned judge remarked) was certainly very common in England, before the case of SOMERSET, in the Court of King’s Bench, 1772, but however it might have been the law of the Royal Exchange

‘ change

‘ change,’ he hoped, ‘ it never was the law of England.

‘ The OPINIONS of lord Hardwicke, and lord Talbot, when Attorney and Solicitor general, have been quoted in support of this practice, and have formerly given too much countenance to it, though they seemed originally to have been only applied to the difference created by baptism.’

‘ But by a late determination of one of the ablest judges that ever presided in this kingdom, these opinions have been held to be mistaken and unsound; and there can be no further doubt, that the claim of SLAVERY is not maintainable by the laws of England.

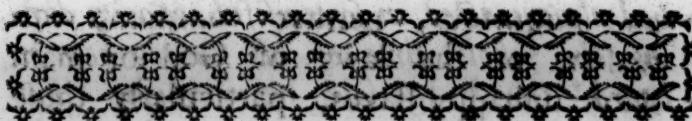
‘ The law therefore was the same before the time of the above opinions, as since; and, consequently, refers to all sales whatsoever of this nature; which are every one illegal: and therefore the pretended sale in the present case, in 1766, was an absolute nullity; and when the allegation, stating the sale, was admitted on behalf of the owners, had Rogers appeared, under protest, upon this point of law, it would have been received in bar of the plea!

‘ The owners seem to have acted upon a mistaken notion of their right; but as the claim of slavery is clearly against the law of this country, and as it appeared that Rogers had

had always acted in some useful capacity during the whole time of his having been on board,' the judge said, he thought 'him entitled to a QUANTUM MERUIT for his service,'—which he accordingly fixed as above; and condemned the owners in costs; which were immediately taxed to the amount of £81. 1s. 0d.



APPEN-



A P P E N D I X,

(No. 12.)

From the General Evening Post, No. 6033. June 13th, 1772.

To the Editor of the General Evening Post.

S I R,

AS the great cause depending between Mr. *Stuart*, and *Somerset*, the negro, is at present one of the principal topics of general conversation, by inserting the following you will afford a seasonable and rational entertainment to your readers. I am your's, &c.

Extract of a letter from a person in Maryland, to his friend in Philadelphia.

‘ I am so happy as to think as you do,
‘ with regard to trading in man, or keep-
‘ ing

‘ ing him a slave. The custom is wicked
‘ and iniquitous, neither consistent with
‘ reason, or the laws of God or man.
‘ Poor unhappy slaves, particularly those
‘ forced from their places of nativity, are
‘ most certainly deplorable objects of com-
‘ miseration. I never bought more than
‘ two during twenty years residence here.
‘ One proved to be the son of an African
‘ Prince; he was a most comely youth: hav-
‘ ing observed his uncommon good parts,
‘ I sent him to school, and used him like
‘ a free man during his stay with me. The
‘ directors of the African Company having
‘ enquired, and offered a reward for him,
‘ I by a public act presented the poor crea-
‘ ture with his freedom, gave him an order
‘ for the reward aforesaid, and sent him to
‘ London; from whence the following year
‘ he remitted me the same sum he cost me,
‘ and sundry rich goods to the amount of
‘ three hundred pounds and upwards, and
‘ therewith a letter in his own native lan-
‘ guage, translated by Dr. Desaguillier, of
‘ Cambridge.

‘ The next I purchased was an unhap-
‘ py lad, kidnapped from his free pa-
‘ rents at the taking of Guadaloupe.
‘ During his stay with me he decayed or
‘ pined so much, and expressed so sensible
‘ a sorrow of cruel separation from his
‘ aged

aged parents, relations, and countrymen, that actuated by the unerring good providence which directs us in all our good deeds, I likewise set this poor creature free, and sent him to his native place. Providence again would not excuse my being further rewarded, for performing this my duty as a Christian. The truly honest father, from the produce of his plantations, has made me presents to the amount of fifty pounds sterling, with direction to draw upon him for the full cost of the poor youth, which I do never intend, being more than paid by presents

I write this to convince you that the inhabitants of Africa are not such senseless brutish creatures as thoughtless authors represent them to be: they undoubtedly are capable of receiving instruction, and far out-do Christians in many commendable virtues. Poor creatures! their greatest unhappiness is being acquainted with Christians. ‡

¶ The worthy and benevolent writer must mean such Christians only as those, who carry out with them nothing of that most amiable profession of religion but the name, to the 'ship-wreck,' of their own souls, and to the disgrace of their native country, if that also is called Christian!

The following is a letter from the
Negro Prince, some time after he
arrived at London, to his master
in Maryland. Translated by Dr.
Desaguillier, of Cambridge, 1743.

From the great city, 3d moon after my release.

‘ O my kind merciful master, my good
white brother, too good, a very good son of
a good woman, and of a very good old
man, created good old people by the GREAT
SPIRIT, who made my country, thy poor
(I should say heretofore poor) most grate-
ful black prisoner, now rendered rich by
thy goodness and mercy, is now most
dead, most drunk, most mad with joy!
Why is he so? because he is going to his
good warm country, to his good old mo-
ther, to his good old father, to his little
sister and his brother. In my good warm
country all things are good, except the
white people who live there, and come in
flying houses to take away poor black pris-
oners from their mothers, their fathers, their
sisters and brothers, to kill them with hun-
ger and filth, in the cellars of their flying-
houses, wherein if they do not die fast
‘ enough,

‘ enough, and poor prisoners talk for bread
‘ and water, and want to feel the wind,
‘ and to see THE GREAT SPIRIT, to com-
‘ plain to him, to tell him all, or to see the
‘ trees of his good warm country once
‘ more for the last time, the King of the
‘ white people [*probably the negro meant*
‘ *the captain*] orders the officer called Jack,
‘ to kill many of the black prisoners, with
‘ whips, with ropes, knives, axes and salt.
‘ The governor of thy flying-house has
‘ been to shew that which is to carry me and
‘ him to my good warm country; I am
‘ glad, very glad indeed! He goes there
‘ with wine. Should he be sick, (and white
‘ people seldom escape being so there,) be-
‘ cause of thee my kind merciful master,
‘ and good white brother, and because he
‘ has been good to me, and is a very good
‘ white man too, I will nurse him myself,
‘ my mother, my father, my little sister,
‘ and my brother, shall be his brother, his
‘ mother, his father, and his sister too;
‘ he shall have one large heap of ele-
‘ phants teeth and gold, for thee my kind
‘ merciful master, and kind brother, and
‘ one for himself also (but smaller.) He at
‘ present is my father, I eat at his house,
‘ and lie there too upon the bed thou pre-
‘ sented me with. His woman is my mo-
‘ ther,

ther, and kindly nurses me, being very sick of the sea and fire made of black stones. I have received a great quantity of gold, besides what thou did present me with by means of thy hand writing, to the people who are to send me to my country, some part whereof I have given to the governor of thy swimming-house, to be sent to thee; had I an houseful should send the whole with equal pleasure; however, thou shalt see hereafter, that black people are not beasts, and do know how to be grateful. After thou my kind merciful master and good white brother left me in thy swimming-house, we, thy white people, and we thy grateful black prisoners, were by the GREAT SPIRIT, who was angry with us, sent by the wind into an immense great river, where we had like to have been drowned, and where we could see neither sun nor moon, for six days and nights. I was dying during one whole moon, the governor was my father, and gave me thole good things thou presented me with on my bed, he lodged me in the little room thy carpenter built for me. Thou gave me more cloaths than I could carry, yet I was very cold; nothing availed with poor black prisoner, till at last having THE GREAT SPIRIT to send me safe to thy house on shore, I thought I was carried there,

' there, [this appears to have been a dream]
 ' where thou my good white brother did use
 ' me with wonted goodness, spake to THE
 ' GREAT SPIRIT, and to HIS SON, that I
 ' might keep so during the voyage and af-
 ' terwards, which they have done for thy
 ' sake ; they will always do me good because
 ' of thee my good white brother ; therefore
 ' my kind merciful master, do not forget thy
 ' poor black prisoner. When thou dost speak
 ' to THE GREAT SPIRIT and to HIS SON, I
 ' do know he will hear thee, I shall never
 ' be sick more, for which I shall be thank-
 ' ful. Pray speak for my good old mother,
 ' my good father, my little sister, and my
 ' brother ; I wish they may be healthy, to
 ' many very many moons, as many as the
 ' hairs on thy head ; I love them all much, yet
 ' I think not so much as I do thee, I could die
 ' in my country for thee, could I do thee any
 ' kindness. Indeed THE GREAT SPIRIT well
 ' knows I mean no lie, shall always speak to
 ' him for thy good, believe me my good
 ' white brother, thy poor black prisoner is
 ' not a liar.

*Dgiagola, son of Dgiagola, Prince
 of Foat, || Africa.*

|| The country, here called FOAT, is probably named (the sound being nearly the same) from PHUT, the third son of Ham ; concerning whom, and his descendants

scendants in the interior part of Africa, particular mention is made in Mr. Bryant's letter, on the descent of the negroes. See Appendix, No. 4, pages 48 to 52: or perhaps it may mean 'the very country upon the river Gambia on one side,' which (as Mr. Bryant informs us from Bluet) 'is at this day called PHUTA.' See p. 50.

A decorative page from a book, likely a title page or a page with a special heading. The page is framed by a decorative border. In the center is a large, ornate floral ornament. The text is arranged in a grid-like structure, with some lines being longer than others, creating a rhythmic pattern. The text is in a Gothic script, which is characteristic of early printed books. The paper has a slightly aged, off-white appearance.

I N D E X

O F

Texts referred to in the foregoing
Work.

G E N E S I S.

Chap.	Verses.	Pages.
ix.	28.	47 n.
x.	5, 6.	App. 48.

E X O D U S.

xxi.	2.	57 n.
	5, 6.	15.
xxiii.	9.	7, 41.
xxxiv.	11, 12.	4 n.

L E V I T I C U S.

xviii.		4, 12.
xix.	18.	App. 24.
	33, 34.	6, 9, 42.
xxv.	44 to 46.	3, 26, 65.
	39 to 43.	16.
	39 to 46.	App. 18, 25.

N U M B E R S.

xxxii.	17.	11 n.
xxxiii.	55, 56.	12 n.

D e u-

DEUTERONOMY.

Chap.	Verses.	Pages.
vii.	1.	8.
	2.	21 n.
	16.	5, 11 n.
	23, 24.	5 n.
ix.	5.	12 n.
x.	17 to 19.	6, 43.
xv.	3-	App. 23.
	12.	56.
	12 to 14.	63.
	15.	7.
	18.	65.
xx.	16.	10 n.
xxiii.	15, 16.	49, 54.
	19.	App. 23.
xxv.	19.	11.

II CHRONICLES.

xiv.	9.	22 n.
xvi.	8.	22.

J O E.

xxxii	38 to 40.	60, 61.
-------	-----------	---------

P S A L M S.

lxviii.	31.	22, 24.
---------	-----	---------

P R O V E R B S.

xiv.	34.	App. 15.
------	-----	----------

J E R E M I A H.

xiii.	23.	App. 44.
xxii.	13.	60.
xxxii.	29.	App. 11.

E Z E K I E L.

xviii.	3, 4, 20.	App. 11.
--------	-----------	----------

A M O S.

A M O S.

Chap.	Veres.	Pages.
viii.	7, 8.	15 n.

H A B A K K U K.

ii.	13.	App. 15.
iii.	7.	App. 52.

E C C L E S I A S T I C U S.

xxxiv.	22.	61.
--------	-----	-----

M A T T H E W.

v.	44, 45.	39.
vii.	12.	42, 45.
		App. 8.
xix.	23.	67.
xix.	8, 9.	App. 22.
xxiv.	30.	21.
xxiv.	34 to 46.	37, 38.
	40.	21, 67.
	12.	67.
xxviii.	19.	18.

L U K E.

iv.	18.	App. 14.
x.	7.	59.

A C T S.

viii.	27, 28.	24.
	27.	App. 11.
x.	34.	App. 11.

R O M A N S.

viii.	17.	20.
-------	-----	-----

I C O R I N T H I A N S.

iii.	16, 17.	19.
vi.	19, 20.	19.
vii.	22, 23.	App. 35, 36.

GALATIANS.

Chap.	Veres.	Pages.
iv.	5, 6, 7.	19.
v.	14.	42.

EPHESIANS.

iii.	6.	19.
------	----	-----

COLOSSIANS.

iv.	1.	62.
	7, 9.	App. 35.

I THESSALONIANS.

iii.	13.	21.
------	-----	-----

PHILEMON.

The Intention of the whole Epistle
considered as far as it relates to }
Onefimus. } App. 31 to 38.

J A M E S.

v.	3, 4.	58.
----	-------	-----

II P E T E R.

i.	3, 4.	20.
----	-------	-----

J U D E.

xiv.	15.	21.
------	-----	-----

REVELATIONS.

i.	7.	21.
xiv.	6.	41.

I N D E X.

A.

ADMIRALTY, report of a Determination against *Slavery* in the Admiralty Court before Sir George Hay, in the Case of *Rogers, alias Riggess*, against *Jones*, *App. 75. 79.*

Africa, the Gospel of Christ received there earlier than in Europe, 21. The antiquity and purity of the church of Habaffinia, 23. Early councils assembled there, 24. Lamentable apostasy of the African church, the cause of the present barbarous ignorance which now prevails there, 26. This Example cited by Abp. Sharp as a Warning to Britain, 44, *note.* All the inhabitants of, assuredly the descendants of Ham, *App. 48.*

African Merchant, the justification of slavery from the Mosaic law, by a writer under that name, examined, 3. Prince, letter from, to his master in Maryland, *App. 90.*

Africans, their descent inquired into, 48. See *Negroes.*

America, a proposal for the gradual enfranchisement of negro-slaves there, *App. 57.*

Aristotle, his argument in justification of slavery refuted, 27, *note.*

B.

Barbadoes, the killing of negroes there, only punished by a fine, 33.

Beattie, Dr. his examination of Aristotle on the subject of slavery, and of Mr. Hume on the mental inferiority of negroes, 27, *note*.

Beneficence, universal, the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity, *App.* 28.

Bishops, numerous Assemblies of them in the Ecclesiastical Synods of Africa, 24, 25.

Blackwell, Dr. his definition of liberty, *App.* 13.

Bond-servants among the Israelites, who might legally be made so, 3. The law of, repealed by the Gospel, 46.

Brethren, all mankind connected under the idea of, by our Christian obligations, 40. It is inconsistent with Christianity that any of them should be slaves, *App.* 33.

Bryant, Mr. his letter to the Author concerning the descent of the negroes, *App.* 47.

C.

Canaan, falsely reputed the Father of the African negroes, 47, 48.

Candid Reflections upon the Judgement lately awarded by the Court of King's Bench, &c. on the Negroe Cause. The Author of a Book so entitled, convicted of *uncandid Reflections*, *App.* 69 to 71.

Cave, Dr. his Account of the great Ecclesiastical Synods in Africa cited, 24, 25.

Cay and Crichton, report of the case of, in the Prerogative Court, *App.* 77.

Charity, Christian, is not to be partial in its objects, *App.* 28.

Christianity,

Christianity, the benevolent spirit of, totally inconsistent with the tyrannical claims of slaveholding, 17. Negroes, as well as the rest of mankind, included under the Gospel dispensation, 19. Connects all the human race under the idea of brethren, 40. None of the Levitical laws can justify slavery under, 41.

Chusim, the usual Name for *Negroes* in the Old Testament, 22. See also Letters on the Descent of the Negroes, *App.* 44. 47.

Congrefs, American, their prohibition of the importation of slaves, should be followed by the gradual emancipation of those now in the country, *App.* 56.

Councils, Christian, a list of those held in Africa during the third and fourth centuries, 24.

D.

Dgiagola, Prince of *Foat*, released from Slavery by his Master in Maryland, *App.* 88. His grateful Letter for that favour translated by Dr. Desaguillier, *App.* 90.

Defaguillier, see above.

E.

Elegy on the miserable state of an African slave, by Mr. Shenstone, *App.* 39.

Emancipation of slaves, in the Colonies, a comparative view of the different modes of, *App.* 16. This work remains to be done by the American Congrefs, *App.* 56.

Eftwick, Mr. his report of the late Judgement in the Court of King's Bench by Lord Mansfield, in the Case of *Somerset* and *Knowles*, *App.* 65. His own Remarks thereupon, *App.* 69. Answered by other Remarks on that Judgement, *App.* 72. *Ethiopians*,

Ethiopians, received the Christian faith before the Europeans, 21. Their descent traced, 22, *note.*

F.

Foat, a Region in Africa, probably the same that is called *Phuta* from *Phut* the Son of Ham, *App. 93.*

H.

Habassilia, Church of, remains a Monument of Christianity among the Sons of Ham, 23.

Habeas Corpus Act. Severity thereof against those who attempt to carry away any person by force out of this Kingdom, *App. 76.*

Ham, the common father of all the inhabitants of Africa, *App. 48.*

Havanna, regulations adopted by the Spaniards there, for the gradual enfranchisement of negroes, *App. 54.*

Hay, Sir George. See Admiralty and Prerogative Court.

Heathen, under the Mosaic law, who were implied by that term, 3. Were devoted to destruction for their abominable vices, 4. Distinguished from *strangers*, 5. The bondage they were doomed to, not to be extended to strangers at large, 9. Are by no means excluded from the benevolence of Christians, 39.

Hume, Mr. his opinion of the mental inferiority of Negroes, controverted by Dr. Beattie, 28, *note.*

I.

Jews, were by the Mosaic law permitted to make bond servants or slaves of the Heathen, 3. And 2 why,

why, 4. Were commanded to treat strangers kindly, 6. Over whom their legal power of bondage extended, 8. Their national privileges not to be claimed by any other people, 10. The limitations under which they might hold their brethren in bondage, 14. Such bond brethren were to be generously assisted on dismission, 56. Their constitutions not strictly consistent with the law of nature as asserted by Mr. Thompson, *App. 19.* Instances of contrariety, *App. 21.*

Infidelity of the present age, so many proofs of our growing apostasy from the Christian Religion, 26, *note.*

K.

King's Bench, report of a Determination in that Court before Lord Mansfield *against Slavery*, in the Case of *Somerset* and *Knowles*, or *Stewart*, *App. 65.* Remarks on that Determination, ditto 69. A Defence of, ditto, ditto, 72.

L.

Labourer always worthy of his hire, 59.

Law of England, both common and statute, not to contradict the laws of God, 55.

Letter, from an African prince to his master in Maryland, *App. 90.*

Liberty, the universality of, asserted by Mr. Otis, *App. 9.* Definition of, *App. 13.*

Lutholf, his account of the antiquity and purity of the church of Habassinia cited, 23, *note.*

M.

Mansfield, Lord, the substance of his speech in the case of *Somerset* and *Knowles*, *App. 65.* Remarks on it, *App. 69.* See King's Bench Court.

Maryland,

Maryland, account of the cruel treatment of the negroes and convict slaves there, *App. 42.*
 Mason and Jones, *App. 80.*
 Mauritania, how first peopled, *App. 49.*
 Mercator, the pleas in behalf of slavery by the writer under this title, refuted, 47.
 Monthly Review, considerations on negroe slavery extracted from, 3.
 Morgan, Mr. extract from his Plan for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, *App. 62.*
 Mosaic law, how far, and on what account, slavery was tolerated under it, 3. The benevolent treatment of strangers strongly inculcated by, 6. Will not justify slavery under the Christian dispensation, 41. Is superseded by it, 46. Not strictly consistent with the law of nature, as asserted by Mr. Thompson, *App. 19.* Instances of contrariety, *App. 21.*

N.

Negroes, the enslaving of, not to be justified from the Mosaic law, 8. Are branded by their masters with hot irons, 15, *note.* Are equally intitled to the promises of God in the Gospel, with the rest of mankind, 19. Received the Christian faith before the Europeans, 21. Dr. Beattie's defence of, against the insinuations of Mr. Hume, 28, *note.* Their murder compounded for by money in Barbadoes, 33. One advertised for in London, and described by a brafs collar like a dog, 35. Are not treated according to the Christian law of doing as we would be done by, 43. Are treated like cattle, 45. Not descended from Canaan, 47, 48. also *App. 12.* Rewards offered by our Colony laws for killing them when they run away, 50. Their different treatment in England and America inconsistent with reason, law, and religion, *App. 7.*

7. Ought to be emancipated, *App. 12.* Examination into the most prudent means of emancipation, *App. 16.* Their cruel treatment in Maryland, *App. 42.* Queries respecting the descent of them, *App. 44.* Reply to, *App. 47.* Regulations adopted by the Spaniards for the enfranchisement of, *App. 54.* A Proposal for the gradual enfranchisement of the British American slaves, *App. 57.* May thus be converted into free peasants, *App. 60.* Natural tendency of our retaining them in slavery, *App. 62.* Remarks on the judgement of the Court of King's Bench in the case of Somerset, *App. 72.*

Neighbours, all mankind intitled to be esteemed so, under the Christian dispensation, 40.

O.

Onesimus, in what sense he was recommended back to his former master Philemon by St. Paul, *App. 31.* Was then a minister of the Gospel, *App. 34, note.* Became bishop of Ephesus, *App. 37, note.* Otis, Mr. asserts the universality of liberty, *App. 9.*

P.

Palestine, the seven nations of, the only *strangers* whom the Jews were permitted to hold in absolute slavery, 8.

Paul, St. his Exhortation to Slaves to continue in the State in which they were called, affords no Argument for slavery, *App. 6.* Is vindicated from Mr. Thompson's charge of justifying slavery, *App. 31.*

Philemon. St. Paul's Epistle to him consider'd, *App. 31—38.* See Onesimus.

o

Planters,

Planters, American, their pleas for slavery invalidated, 59.

Prerogative Court, report of a Determination in that Court before Dr. Hay against *Slavery*, in the Case of *Cay and Crichton*, *App. 75. 77.*

Proposal by the Author for the gradual enfranchisement of negroe slaves in America, *App. 57.*

R.

Reports of Determinations in the several Courts of Law against *Slavery*, viz. King's Bench, *App. 65.*

Admiralty Court, ditto 79. Prerogative Court, ditto 77.

Retribution, Law of, referred to, *App. 30.*

Rogers, alias Riggis, against Jones, report of the case of, in the high court of Admiralty, *App. 79.*

S.

Saracens, query relating to their descent, *App. 50, note.*

Servants, fugitive, how treated in the British Colonies, 50, 51. Comparison between their case and that of negroe slaves, 52, note.

Sharp, Abp. his warning to England by the example of God's Judgements against the Africans, 44, note. Shenstone, Mr. his elegy on the miserable state of an African slave, *App. 39.*

Slavery, is not to be justified by any of the Leviitical laws under the Christian dispensation, 41.

Considerations on, from the Monthly Review, *App. 3.* No positive law in favour of, either in England or America, *App. 8.*

Slaves, who might legally be made so by the Israelites, 3. Are branded with hot irons in the British

British plantations, 15, *note*. The killing of them compounded for by act of assembly at Barbadoes, 33. One advertised for and described by a brass collar like a dog, 35. The holders of, cannot be real christians, 38. How treated on running away, by our American laws, 50. Examination into the most prudent means of emancipating, *App. 16*.

Somerset and Knowles, Case of, see King's Bench.

Spaniards, regulations adopted by, for the gradual enfranchisement of negroes, *App. 54*.

Strangers, benevolence toward, strongly enjoined by the Mosaic law, 6. 41. The parable of the good Samaritan teaches Christians to consider all men as neighbours, *App. 24*.

T.

Theophylact, Abp. his plea for slavery on the authority of St. Paul, refuted, *App. 32, note*.

Thompson, Rev. Mr. examination of his defence of the negroe slave trade, *App. 18*.

W.

Wages, always due for labour, 59. Are decreed by the high court of Admiralty to a negroe slave, *App. 83*.

F I N I S.

MOHTUA AND THE

WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTION, HELD AT BOMBAY
ON THE 15TH OF NOVEMBER, 1890.

ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED BY THE WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND UNIVERSAL
RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

THE BOMBAY CONVENTION IS THE FIFTH IN THE SERIES OF
WORLD RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS HELD AT
LONDON, 1878; PARIS, 1880; BOSTON, 1881; AND
NEW YORK, 1889.

By the same AUTHOR.

Printed for B. WHITE, at Horace's Head, in Fleet-
Street.

- I. **A** Short Treatise on the English Tongue. Being an Attempt to render the Reading and Pronunciation of the same more easy to Foreigners. 1767.
- II. Remarks on several very important Prophecies. 1st Edition 1768. 2d Edition 1775.
- III. A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery ; or of admitting the least Claim of Private Property in the Persons of Men *in England*. Being in Answer to an Opinion given in the Year 1729, by the (then) Attorney General and Solicitor General concerning the Case of Slaves in *Great Britain*. 1769.
- IV. Remarks concerning the Encroachments on the River Thames near *Durham Yard*. 1771.
- V. An Appendix to the Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery, &c. 1772.
- VI. Remarks on the Opinions of some of the most celebrated Writers on CROWN LAW, respecting the due Distinction between *Manslaughter* and *Murder*. 1773.
- VII. In Two Parts. 1. A Declaration of the Peoples *Natural Right* to a Share in the Legislature ; which is the fundamental Principle of *the British Constitution of State*. 2. A Declaration, or Defence of *the same Doctrine*, when applied particularly to THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND. 1774.

The following TRACTS by the same
AUTHOR,

Printed for B. WHITE, at Horace's Head, Fleet-
Street, and E. and C. DILLY in the Poultry.

VIII. *The Law of passive Obedience; or, Christian Submission to personal Injuries.*—Wherein is shewn that the several Texts of Scripture which command the entire Submission of *Servants* or *Slaves* to their *Masters*, cannot authorize the latter to exact an *involuntary Servitude*: and also that the several Texts which enjoin *Submission* to *Rulers* and *Magistrates*, do not justify the dangerous Doctrine of an *unlimited passive Obedience*. 1776.

IX. “*The Law of Liberty;*” or (as it is called in Scripture by way of eminence) “*the Royal Law,*” by which *all Mankind* will certainly be judged! 1776.

X. *The Law of Retribution;* or a serious Warning to *Great Britain* and her *Colonies*, founded on unquestionable Examples of God’s temporal Vengeance against Tyrants, Slave-holders, and Oppressors. The Examples are selected from Predictions in the Old Testament of *national Judgements*, which (being compared with their actual Accomplishment) demonstrate “*the sure Word of Prophecy,*” as well as the immediate *Interposition of divine Providence*, to recompence impenitent *Nations* according to their Works. 1776.

Now in the Press for Publication, by B. WHITE, in Fleet-Street, and E. and C. DILLY, in the Poultry.

I. *A Tract on the Law of Nature, and Principles of Action in Man.*

II. *THE CASE OF SAUL;* being an Appendage to the former Tract, wherein the *compound Nature* and various *Principles of Action in MAN* (with the Reality of *supernatural, spiritual Influence*, both *good and bad*) are proved by unquestionable Examples from the *History of that unfortunate Monarch*, and also from many other parts of Scripture.

